

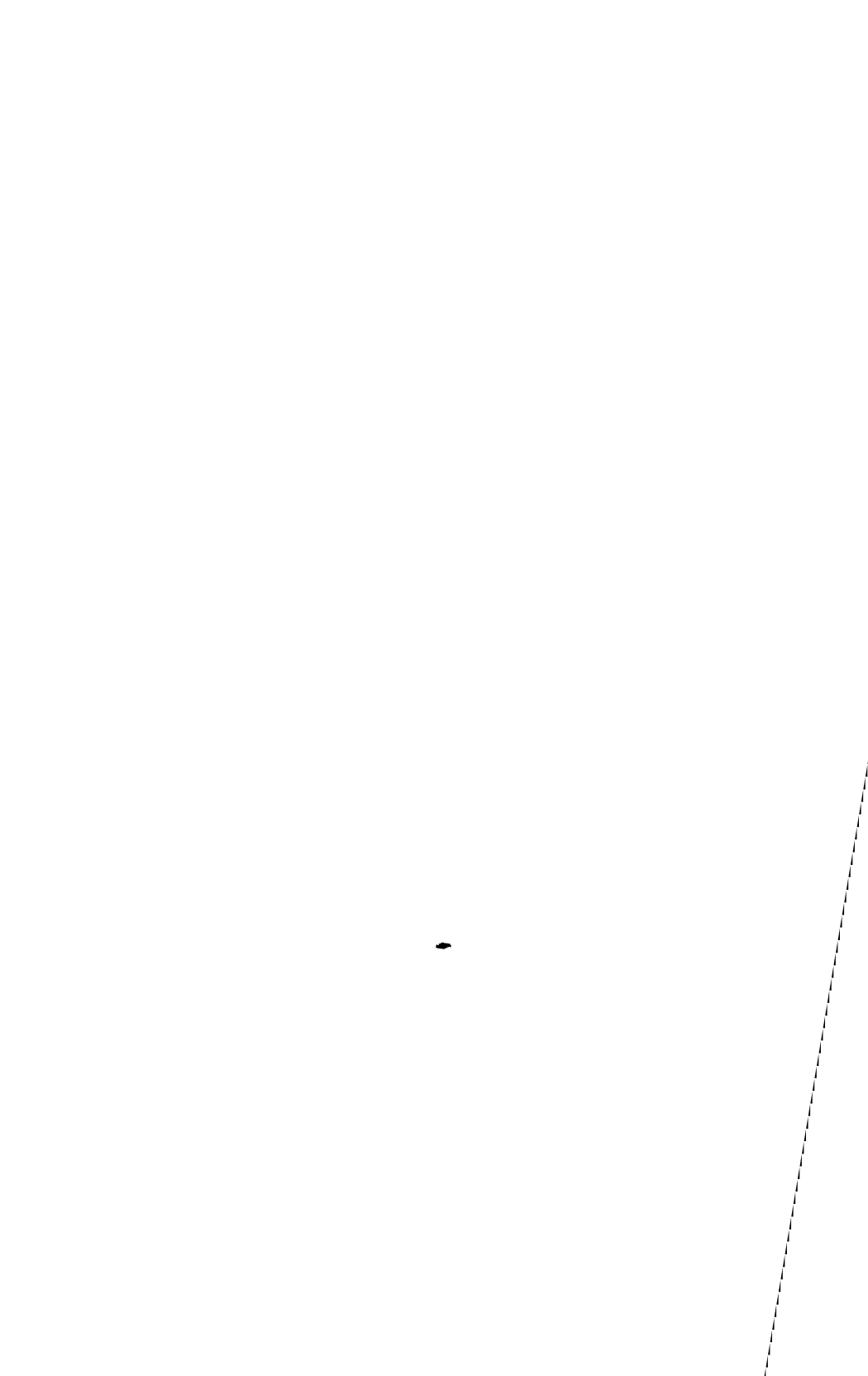
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT *of* **BHOJPURI**

UDAI NARAIN TIWARI

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET ■ KOLKATA 700 016.

Gift.

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by UDAI NARAIN TIWARI

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FOREWORD

Inspired by the advice of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Udal Narain Tiwari produced the valuable treatise entitled 'A Dialect of Bhojpuri.' This work was the outcome of Tiwari's well acquaintance with the various specimens of Bhojpuri dialect. He gathered knowledge of this language after touring extensive part of the Bhojpuri area. It is due to the initiative of Professor S. K. Chatterjee that the book in a modified form, with the title of 'The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri', was published by the Asiatic Society in 1960. The book having a critical and scientific analysis of Bhojpuri is in great demand to the teachers and students of Linguistics. For a few years the book is out of stock, but because of the non-stopped demand for this book from persons of different parts of our country, we are glad to announce the republication of Tiwari's laboured creation.

Kolkata
26.03.2001

Manabendu Banerjee
General Secretary

PREFACE

It was in the Oriental Conference at Patna when I had a chance to come in close contact with Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and other great linguisticians for the first time that an ardent desire to study my mother tongue, Bhojpuri, on scientific lines arose in my mind. Back from Patna, I approached Dr. Dhirendra Varma of the University of Allahabad who introduced me to Dr. Babu Ram Saxena. He was then writing his thesis on THE EVOLUTION OF AWADHI. Dr. Saxena in consultation with Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji advised me to prepare a monograph on the 'Bhojpuri dialect' on the lines of his 'Lakhimpuri'. The work that I produced after this advice was written out in 1932 and published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vols. XX, XXI and XXII, Part III, under the title 'A Dialect of Bhojpuri' (1934-35).

During the years 1933 to 1935, I made extensive tours throughout the Bhojpuri area—Balliā, Shāhābād, Sāran, Champāran, Gorakhpur, the Nepal tarāi, Basti, Āzamgarh, Banārās, Mirzāpur and other places—and collected specimens of Bhojpuri. Grammatical peculiarities were noted down and detailed systematic grammars of the different dialects were prepared. The exact limits of the Bhojpuri-speaking area were investigated and accordingly a map was prepared which is appended herewith. During this period, the following contributions were published in the 'Hindustāni'—journal of the Hindustāni Academy, Allahabad, namely: 'The Bhojpuri Proverbs' (*Bhojpuri Lokoktiyā*) (April, 1939, and July, 1939), 'Bhojpuri Idioms' (*Bhojpuri Muhāware*) (April, 1940, October, 1940, and January, 1941), and 'The Bhojpuri Riddles' (*Bhojpuri Paheliyā*) (October-December, 1942).

I worked for about three years under the able supervision of Dr. Babu Ram Saxena who gave me every kind of help in the early stages of my work, and but for whose encouragement this work could never have been undertaken.

The thesis was accepted by the Allahabad University for the degree of Doctor of Letters in 1945. It was the first thesis on a dialect which claims to be the biggest dialect of our country, with about 30 million speakers in and outside India. It has inspired a number of scholars to work on other aspects of Bhojpuri—Dr. Vishwa Nath Prasad on Bhojpuri phonetics, Dr. Krishna Dev Upadhyaya on Bhojpuri songs, and Dr. Satya Vrata Sinha on Bhojpuri ballads. A few others are still pursuing their studies on some aspects of the dialect.

The present thesis aspires to make some new contributions to Indian dialectology. The chief among them are:—

- (1) Historical and comparative treatment of the materials.
 - (2) Phonology in a manner quite different from Hoernle's treatment.
 - (3) Affixes in fuller detail than in Hoernle.
 - (4) Pronouns
 - (5) Compounds
 - (6) Verbs
- } mainly new.

The sources of information utilized by me for the thesis are the materials collected by me during my tours, plus those listed on pages 22 to 24 of the thesis and a few forms in the writings of Kabir and other writers.

The system of transliteration followed in the thesis is that of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. For the portion on phonology,

however, the scheme of the International Phonetic Association has been adopted.

I am especially indebted to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for all that I am. My pet subjects were Mathematics and Economics. I passed my M.A. in Economics and much later in Hindi and Pali. It was Prof. Chatterji who gave me the first lessons in Linguistics. He gave me inspiration and time and invaluable guidance during the preparation of this thesis (1940-44). He patiently read the whole work and gave me the benefit of his critical observations. He even partly corrected the proofs and suggested improvements while it was passing through the press. I have to thankfully acknowledge obligations to Shri Rahul Sankrityayan, Shri S. N. Chaturvedi, Late H. K. Ghosh of Indian Press, Allahabad, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, Prof. Sukumar Sen and many others for particular favours conferred on me during my studies at Calcutta and work at Allahabad. I must express my gratefulness to my colleague and friend Dr. Hardev Bahri for the assistance he gave me in proof-correcting. Thanks are also due to a long line of philologists and teachers, whose works have benefited me in general, and to many known and unknown poets of Bhojpur Pradesh whose compositions have enabled me to make a critical and scientific analysis of Bhojpuri.

15-4-57

The University,
Allahabad.

UDAI NARAIN TIWARI

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Assamese.
Ap.	Apabhraṃśa.
Az.	Azamgarh.
Bg.	Bagheli.
Bh., Bhoj.	..	Bhojpuri.
B., Beng.	..	Bengali.
Br. ..	..	Brajabhākhā.
Bs. ..	..	Banaras.
der. ..	..	Derivation.
E. Beng.	..	East Bengali.
E. Hindi	..	East Hindi.
fr. ..	..	From.
G. ..	..	Gujarātī.
Go. ..	..	Gorakhpur.
H. ..	..	Hindī.
H.C.	..	Hema Candra.
IA. ..	..	Indo-Aryan.
IE. ..	..	Indo-European.
Ind. Ant.	..	Indian Antiquary.
JASB.	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
K.G.	..	Kabīr Granthāwall, edited by Shyam Sundar Das.
Kh. Bōli	..	Kharibōli.
L.M. or Langue Marathe	..	La Formation de La Langue Marathe, by Jules Bloch.
LSI.	..	Linguistic Survey of India.
Lw. ..	..	Loan words.
M. ..	..	Marāṭhī.
Mag. Ap.	..	Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa.
M.B. or M. Beng.	..	Middle Bengali.
MIA.	..	Middle Indo-Aryan.
Mi. ..	..	Mirzapur.
Mid. Bhoj.	..	Middle Bhojpuri.
Mod. Bhoj. or New Bhoj.	..	Modern Bhojpuri.
N., Nep.	..	Nepali.
N.Bh.	..	Northern Standard Bhojpuri.
N.D.	..	Nepali Dictionary, by R. L. Turner.
N. India	..	Northern India.
NIA.	..	New Indo-Aryan.
O. ..	..	Oriyā.
O.B.	..	Old Bengali.
O.Bh.	..	Old Bhojpuri.
ODBL.	..	Origin and Development of Bengali Language, by S. K. Chatterji.
OIA.	..	Old Indo-Aryan.
O.P.	..	Old Persian.
O.W.R.	..	Old Western Rājasthānī.
Pa. ..	..	Pāli.
Perh.	..	Perhaps.
Pers.	..	Persian.
Pers.-Ar.	..	Perso-Arabic.
Pk. ..	..	Prākṛit.
Prob.	..	Probably.
R.V.S.	..	Rig Veda Samhitā.
S. ..	..	Sindhī.
Sa. ..	..	Sāran.
Skk.	..	'Śrī-kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana', by Basanta-Rāṅjana Māya.
S.Gr.	..	Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language, by G. A. Grierson.
Sk. ..	..	Sanskrit.
St. Bh.	..	Standard Bhojpuri.

Sts. ..	..	..	Semi-tatsama.
Tb. ..	..	..	Tadbhava.
Ts. ..	..	..	Tatsama.
Uv. ..	..	..	Ukti-vyakti-Prakaraṇa of Dāmōdara Paṇḍita, edited by Śrī Jina Vijaya Muni, <i>Bhāratīya Vidyā</i> , number 4, March, 1941.
V.R. ..	..	..	Varṇa-Ratnākara of Jyotirīśvara-Kavi Śekharaċārya, edited by S. K. Chatterji and Babua Misra, 1940.
W.B. ..	..	..	West Bengali.
W.H. ..	..	..	Western Hindi.
W. Lectures ..	..	..	Wilson Philological Lectures , by R. G. Bhandarkar.
Z.D.M.G. ..	..	..	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

SIGNS

- > means gives, leads to, is changed to, etc.
- < means comes from, is derived from, etc.
- * before a word or affix indicates a hypothetical form not preserved in literature but reconstructed.
- ? before a word or form indicates doubt as to the form proposed or to the form being the source of the word or connected with the word under discussion.
- ✓ means root.
- + joins up the component parts which are the basis of a Modern Indo-Aryan or other word.

the hyphen: used to analyse words into their roots and affixes. When a word is given with hyphen at the end, it indicates merely the base form to which the other additions or suffixes or inflexions were made. Prefixes have a hyphen after them and suffixes and inflexions before them.

stress.

INTRODUCTION

§1. Bhojpuri¹ is the western-most speech of the eastern or Māgadhan group of the Aryan languages of India. Grierson has given the name of 'Bihārī' to this Māgadhan group of speeches. By 'Bihārī' he implies a single language of which 'Magahi', 'Maithilī' and 'Bhojpuri' are three *dialects*. From the strictly philological standpoint, Grierson is correct: but a few noteworthy differences are there (e.g. the distinctive Maithilī employment of root '*ach*' or '*cha*' for the substantive verb, which is absent in Bhojpuri and Magahi, and the Maithilī and Magahi construction of the verb which is so far foreign to Bhojpuri), and these combined with the feeling (particularly among the Brāhmins who have been the natural leaders of the masses) that Magahi, Maithilī and Bhojpuri speeches are distinct groups, and with the growth of a separate literature in each of these speeches (a recognized literature in Maithilī and an unrecognized one consisting of folk-songs and poems in the other two) have been responsible for the present sentiment among the speakers of the Bihārī dialects that their speeches are not so much dialects of a common language (there is no common literary form for the basic 'Bihārī') but as independent speeches capable of independent employment in literature. There is, it must be noted, perfect intelligibility among the speakers of Maithilī, Magahi and Bhojpuri.

Of these three speeches (or languages, considering the point of view just noted), Bhojpuri covers much the largest extent of the country, running north and south from the foot of the Himālayās down to Sargujā in the Central Provinces. In Bihār, it occupies the whole of the districts of Shāhābād, Sāran, Champāran, Rānchī, the State of Jāshpur, a part of Palāmau and the north-west corner of Muzaffarpur. It also extends to the eastern districts of the Uttar Pradesh and includes Banāras (including a part of the Banāras State), Ghāzipur, Balliā and the major parts of the districts of Jaunpur and Mirzāpur as well as those of Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Basti up to the river Kuwāno in Tahsil Harayyā.

Dr. Chatterji has classified the Māgadhan speeches in three groups and he is evidently inclined to take all the eastern or Māgadhan speeches together. According to him, Bhojpuri belongs to the western Māgadhan group, Maithilī and Magahi to Central Māgadhan and Bengālī, Assamese and Ōriyā to the eastern Māgadhan group. Thus we will see that Bengālī, Assamese and Ōriyā are the immediate cousins of Bhojpuri if Magahi and Maithilī can be called its sisters, following Grierson in this matter.

§2. The name Bhojpuri or Bhojpuriyā has been derived from Bhojpur, a paragana or fiscal division of Shāhābād district. Dr. Buchanan who travelled extensively in the interior of the Shāhābād district visited Bhojpur in 1812. He mentions the legend of the conquest of Cheros (an aboriginal tribe of Austric origin) by the Ujjaini (Ujōn) Rājputās claiming their descent from Rājā Bhoja of Mālwa.

¹ Some writers have made the form '*Bhojpuriyā*' as an adjective from 'Bhojpur'. The affix *-iyā* is of course correct in the speech to indicate connection, as much as *-ī*. But a slight contempt or familiarity is implied by *-iyā* which is absent in *-ī*. For this reason as well as because the *-ī* form is the shorter one and because it falls in line with other adjectives like *Bangālī*—*Bangālī*, *Asāmī*—*Asāmī*, *Nepālī*—*Nepālī*, I am using *Bhojpurī* rather than *Bhojpuriyā*. Besides this, the form 'Bhojpūrī', or 'Bhojpuri', has been used by Beames, Hoernle and Grierson and has thus become more familiar and current.

Blochmann in his 'notes from Mohammedan historians on Chutia Nagpur Pachet and Palaman' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1871, pp. 111-129, mentions the name of Bhojpur. He writes, 'The Rajahs of South Bihar and of the provinces along the Western Frontier of Bengal gave the emperors of Dilhi a good deal of trouble. During the reign of Akbar . . . Rajah Dalpat of Bhojpur, near Baksar (Buxar), was defeated and imprisoned, and when Akbar at length set him at liberty on payment of an enormous present, he again armed and continued to rebel under Jahangir, till Bhojpur was sacked, and his successor, Rajah Pratab, was executed by Shahjahan . . .'

Further the same scholar in his translation of *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, 1513, gives the following information in connection with Akbar's 'grandee' No. 328. The name of the said grandee is Barkhurdār (Mirza Khān Ālam). The information is culled from other sources. It goes thus: 'His (Barkhurdār's) father had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat. This Bihar Zamindar was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when on payment of a heavy *peshkash*, he was allowed to return to his home. But Barkhurdār wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace that he gave orders to hand over Barkhurdār to Dalpat, but at the intercession of several courtiers, Barkhurdār was imprisoned.'

Again on the same page in foot-note 1, regarding Dalpat, he says, 'Dalpat is called in the Akbarnama اوجينيه (Ujjainiha) for which the MSS. have various readings as اوجينه (Ujjainah) or اوجينه (Ojainah), etc. Under Shahjahan, Dalpat's successor was Rajah Pratāb, who in the first year received a manṣab of 1,500, 1,000 horse (Pādishāhnāmah, I, 221). From the same work we know that the residence of the Ujjaini Rajahs was Bhojpur west of Arrah and north of Sahasram (Sasram), a paragana in Sirkār Rohtās, Bihar. Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shahjahan's reign, when Abdullah Khan, Firuz-Jang besieged and conquered Bhojpur (8th Zil Hijjah, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shahjahan's orders executed . . .' The particulars of this conquest will be found in the Pādishāhnāmah (I, B, pp. 271-274).

From the above accounts, it becomes quite clear that 'Bhojpur' was once an important principality ruled by the Ujjain (or Mālwa) Rājapūts who had immigrated to this place. These Rājapūts played a very important part in the mediaeval history of the country and their predominance in the history of western Bihār continued up to the revolt of 1857, when Kunwar Singh rebelled against the British and was thereupon forced to flee and retire. Thus did the remnants of once so important a kingdom of Bhojpur come to an end except the present 'Dumrāon Rāj' which is still in the possession of an Ujjain Rājā.

§3. It is now obvious that the name 'Bhojpur' was given to the place after the Ujjaini Bhojas¹ (the Bhojas from Dhār in Ujjain), who had established themselves in this area. After them was named the territory they ruled. The seat of their government was at 'Bhojpur'. Near Dumrāon, 'Chhotākā' and 'Barākā Bhojpur' are two villages which still exist. The ruins of the 'Nawaratan' fortress, evidently a Mohammedan structure, can still be seen there.

¹ The name 'Bhoja' of the famous kings of Dhārā appears to be an old title for the kings of that area and not only the name of an individual (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14).

From the old city of Bhojpur, the name spread over the entire area to the south of it, and the name of Bhojpur as a parganah and a district at one time covered the northern half of the present district of Arrāh or Shāhābād. In James Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* of 1781 (which gives the first proper maps of Bengāl and Bihār after adequate survey), we have '*Boujepour or Shawabad*' (= Bhojpur or Shāhābād) as the name of a district forming the northern part of the present district of Arrāh or Shāhābād, the southern part forming another district with the name *Rotas* (= Rohtās or Rohitās). Thus the name *Bhojpur* at the end of the eighteenth century comprised a good bit of country. Gradually, the adjective Bhojpuri or Bhojpuriyā was extended to mean the people as well as the speech of this area, and as the speech was current in tracts to the north, south and west of Bhojpur district or parganah, it was naturally enough applied to the people and language even beyond the old limits of the Bhojpur country.

§4. It is remarkable that the speech of over 20 millions of people round about Bhojpur should be called by the name of this place. The area of Bhojpuri really covers the old tracts of the 'Kāśīs' and the 'Mallās', plus a portion of western Magadha and Jhāḍa Khaṇḍa (now Chhoṭā Nāgpur). The absence of a single name embracing all this wide tract in ancient times was made good by the name Bhojpur (and Bhojpuri) in Mogul times, when evidently the prowess of the Bhojpur Rājputās in fighting the Great Mogul raised the prestige of their brothers in speech among whom the name became an illustrious one, to be adopted with pride in referring to themselves as distinguished from their neighbours round about.

§5. It was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the name Bhojpuri to mean the speakers of this form of Māgadhan became established. The Bhojpuris or Bhojpuriyās had a reputation for fighting and were later much in demand in the armies of the Moguls and following them of the British, particularly up to the days of the mutiny. The old saying quoted below, which is widely current in Bihār, indicates the bellicose spirit of the Bhojpuri, incidentally giving the name by which his speech and people are now known:—

Bhāgalpur ke bhagoliyā,
Kahal-gāw ke ṭhag,
Paṭanā ke dewāliyā—
tīnū nāmajad;
sunī pāwē 'Bhojpuriyā',
ta tīnū ke tūrē rag.

'The people of Bhāgalpur are prone to run away; the people of Kahal-gāw are cheats; the people of Paṭnā are bankrupts (i.e. swindlers)—all these three are notorious. But if a "Bhojpuriyā" comes to hear of them, he will break the heads of all the three.'

The use of the same term to mean the people and their language is common enough in the following verse (Grierson: *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Biharī Language*, Part I, front page). Here we have the use of the term Bhojpuriyā to mean the tongue:—

'Kasa, kasa' Kasamara; 'kinā' Magahiā,
'kā' Bhojpuriā, 'kī' Tirahutiā.

'For "what" Kasamara (Sāran) has *kasa kasa* and Magahi *kinā*; Bhojpuri has *kā* and Tirhuti *kī*.'

Thus it becomes clear that the name Bhojpuri or Bhojpuriyā for the language and the people has been in use since at least the late Mogul period. But the first written use of the word in this sense appears to date from

1789, in the following note given by Sir George Grierson in 'Addenda et Corrigenda Minora' forming supplement II to Vol. I of the Linguistic Survey of India, p. 22, additional note for page 47, Vol. V, Part II:—

1789. 'Two days after, as a regiment of sepoys, on its way to Chunar-ghur, was marching through the City at day-break, I went out, and was standing to see it pass by, the Regiment halted; and a few men from the centre ran into a dark lane, and laid hold of a hen and some roots; the people screamed. "Do not make so much noise", said one of the men in his Bodjpooria idiom; "we go today with the Frenghees, but we are all servants (tenants) to Chäyt-Sing, and may come back tomorrow with him; and then the question will be not about your roots but about your wives and daughters"' (Raymond, Translation of the Ššir Mutaqherin, 2nd Ed., Translator's preface, p. 8).

Then we have John Beames in 1868 in an article to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* published in Vol. III, pp. 483-508, entitled 'Notes on the Bhojpuri Dialect of Hindī, spoken in Western Bihār', first definitely using the term 'Bhojpuri' for the language. Evidently, he had followed current usage in so employing the term. This article was read even a year earlier on February 17, 1867.

§6. There are other names also for the Bhojpuris and their language. In Mogul times, the name 'Baksariyā' (from the city of Buxar near Bhojpur) appears to have been used commonly in Delhī and elsewhere in the west for the Bhojpuri people, particularly to denote soldiers from the Bhojpuri tract. Baksar (Buxar) and Bhojpur evidently were two of the most noted Bhojpuri centres in those days—the first for recruitment of soldiers in the Mogul army in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and this name was adopted by the British also in the form *Buxeries* in the eighteenth century when they were in the habit of recruiting Bhojpuri sepoys in Bengāl. (See William Irvine: *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, London, 1903, pp. 168-169.)

In Bengāl where Bhojpuris go in their thousands, they are simply called 'Hindusthāni' or merely 'Paścimās', i.e. westerners, in contradistinction to the local people; and other names accepted equally by Bhojpuri sojourners are 'Deśwālī' and 'Khoṭṭā'. The last is used a little in contempt. Naturally, neither the sojourning Bhojpuri who is of a humble rank, usually going to earn a living in Bengāl as a watchman or labourer or a small trader, nor the Bengālī who employs him or with whom he has dealings, has any idea that their speeches Bengālī and Bhojpuri have a great deal in common. Both think that the speech of the Bhojpuri is a kind of Hindī or Hindusthāni, particularly, because the Bhojpuri if literate is literate in Hindī and not in Bhojpuri as a separate language.

It should be noted, however, apropos the term 'Deśwālī', that when they come in contact with one another in Calcutta or other parts of Bengāl, they characterize themselves *vis-à-vis* the Bengālīs, 'Deśwālī' or 'Mulki' and call their language 'Deśwālī Bōlī'—the word 'Deś' and 'Mulki' meaning country, i.e. 'fellow countrymen' or 'compatriots' or 'brothers from the same speech'. But in this connection, it should also be noted that 'Deśwālī' or 'Mulki' varies in connotation and even one Western Hindī speaker addressing another Western Hindī speaker addresses him as 'Deśwālī' or 'Mulki' and gives the same name to his language.

§7. In the upper provinces, the people of Bhojpuri area are sometimes called 'Purabiyā' and their language 'Purbi bōlī'. Hobson-Jobson (*A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms* by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, pp. 724) gives the following information about 'Poorub' and 'Poorbees':—

'In upper India, the term means usually Oudh, the Benares division and Bihar. Hence Poorbeea (Purbiyā), a man of those countries, was, in the days of the old Bengāl army, often used for a sepoy, the majority being recruited in those provinces.'

Thus it will be seen that the 'Purabiyā' and 'Purbī bōlī' will include the people of Kōśala (Awadh) and their language. In fact, the term 'Purabiyā' is indefinite, vague and relative. It is the modern counterpart of the term 'Prācya' found in the Brāhmanās and in Greek writers (as Prasioi) to indicate Easterners (i.e. people to the east of the 'Madhyadeśa' in general). Even the inhabitants of Kōśala call the people of Bihār 'Purabiyā' which they themselves are termed by those speaking 'Brajabhākhā' and 'Kharībōlī'.

§8. Besides the above, we find the names 'Chhapparahiya', 'Banārsī' and 'Bangarahi' bōlī for the dialects of Chhaprā, Banāras and Bāngar—the western part of the Balliā and the eastern part of the Āzamgarh districts which are not watered by the flood of the Gangā—according to the smaller political divisions and with somewhat minor local peculiarities. These names are to be classed with Baksariyā and Bhojpuri(yā).

§9. Śrī Rāhula Sānkṛityāyana in his presidential address, page 2, delivered at the thirteenth anniversary of 'the Balliā Hindī Pracāriṇī Sabhā' has preferred the name 'Mallī' to 'Bhojpuri'. 'Malla' was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadās of the days of Buddha. What was its exact boundary, it is very difficult to say. 'The Jain 'Kālpasūtra' refers to nine 'Mallakis' but the Buddhist texts speak of three 'Mallas' only. These are the Mallas of 'Kusinārā', 'Pāvā', and 'Anupiyā'. They had several important cities, namely, 'Bhoga-nagar', 'Anupiyā' and 'Uruvelakappa'. Both 'Kusinārā' and 'Pāvā' have been identified with 'Kasiā' and 'Padaraonā' in the district of Deoriā, in the Uttar Pradesh, where Bhojpuri is spoken at present. It should be noted in this connection that 'Malla' and 'Kāśī' would go together as old names of this tract but it will be rather late in the day to revive them to replace Bhojpuri which has an established tradition of at least three hundred years.

§10. Bhojpuri is a language which is very much alive. Although the primary and secondary education in the Bhojpuri area is imparted through the medium of the standard Hindī and Urdū and the literary language, too, is Hindī and Urdū, yet Bhojpuri occupies a place of honour and prestige in the hearts of its speakers. The oral explanation of difficult portions in Hindī and Urdū is frequently made in class in Bhojpuri when teachers and students both are Bhojpuri speakers. The students, both in their classrooms and outside, talk to each other in Bhojpuri and even they would address the teacher in the mother tongue in the lower classes. 'Sanskrit Pandits' in old style Sanskrit schools (Pāṭhasālās) do the same thing and scarcely use Kharībōlī. If anybody talks to his own people in villages in a language other than Bhojpuri, he is looked down on with contempt and is regarded either as a pedant or as one who gives superior airs. In every part of the Bhojpuri area, the people discuss all sorts of political, social and economic matters in their own tongue. Every type of sermon and discourse is given in the dialect of the people. In marriages and other ceremonies, the letters and invitations when issued in MSS. are in Bhojpuri, but when printed, Hindī is, nowadays, employed. On all auspicious occasions, women sing Bhojpuri songs and they are very much liked by all sections of the people.

In Mirzāpur and in Banāras, a special type of song known as 'Kajari' is very much prevalent. Such songs are exclusively in Bhojpuri. These are sung by the common people in the month of Sāwan (July-August).

Very dear indeed is the mother tongue to the heart of the Bhojpuri people and they hold it in great esteem. Even when outside their linguistic area they never fail to show their love for the language and they will always be cultivating it wherever and whenever they congregate. In Calcutta, for instance, which can be described as a centre of Bhojpuri life and Bhojpuri 'culture', as there are hundreds of thousands of Bhojpuri speakers in the city, and more in the suburbs and along the Bhāgirathī valley jute mill areas, as in Hyde Park in London, the 'Maidān' is the centre where the masses gather; and, at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument in the 'Maidān' there is a large informal gathering of Bhojpuri people, particularly on Sunday evenings, under the shadow of the 'Maunī-Math' (as the Bhojpuri speakers have transformed the English word *monument*), we have the regular sight of Bhojpuri people amusing themselves with folk-songs, folk-tales and informal talks and speeches.

§11. In spite of this great love for their language, it is strange how little Bhojpuri is cultivated nowadays and had been so little cultivated in olden times compared with other sister or cousin speeches like Bengālī, Maithilī and Kōśalī, not to speak of Braj. But Bhojpuri Brāhman̄s who ought to have set the example (as the Brāhman̄s of Bengāl, Mithilā, Kōśalā and of the Braj area did) appear to have concentrated on Sanskrit at Banāras. The fact of Banāras being the intellectual centre of Hindu India was responsible for drawing all the energy of the Brāhman̄s of the Bhojpuri area to the cultivation of the sacred language, to the neglect of the mother tongue. But a popular writer like Kabir could not wholly neglect it, although the rapidly developing 'Khaṛibōlī' of the west and the Braj, well established as the literary language of the Western U.P. and Panjāb, claimed his first attention. Below, I have discussed how far Kabir wrote in Bhojpuri and how far other Bhojpuri writers are found.

At the present moment Hindi is overshadowing Bhojpuri as the language of education and public life but, nevertheless, there is a strong undercurrent of literary life in Bhojpuri as seen from a mass of Bhojpuri folk-songs and ballads and poems which see the print in cheap editions costing a few coppers. These come out regularly from Banāras—Bajināth Prasād and Co. and Gullu Prasād Kedārnāth, Booksellers and Publishers—and from Dūdh Nāth Press, Salkia, Howrah. Bhojpuri songs are on the lips of all Bhojpuri people. Moreover, a slight attempt at re-establishing Bhojpuri as a language of literature has started, and this also is noted below.

§12. For the last fifteen years, a special type of Bhojpuri dramas known as 'Bidesiyā'—the subject being the suffering of the wife on account of separation from her husband who has gone far away from home for a job—written by one Bhikhārī Thākur of Chhaprā has become very popular. Pirated editions of these 'Bidesiyā Nāṭak' have come out. The popularity of these dramas can be judged from the fact that no other book except the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasīdās is so much read by the common people as these dramas of Bhikhārī Thākur. These dramas are very important from the linguistic point of view also, inasmuch as they give the specimens of the current language of the people.

Very recently some eight small dramas have been written by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana in Bhojpuri. These dramas contain interesting dialogues and record the most current forms spoken in the Sāran district. Śrī Sāṅkṛityāyana has also contributed an article (Haras, Sept.-Oct., 1942) on the 'linguistic problem of India' and he is of opinion that the medium of instruction in the Bhojpuri area should be Bhojpuri instead of Hindi.

§13. The great want of Bhojpuri is the printed literature of higher type. Even before the advent of the modern Hindi, the literary men, especially poets, employed Kōśālī (Awadhī) and sometimes Braj-bhākhā for literary purposes. At present owing to the preference of exotic Hindi, all works of any importance are written and published in Hindi. In fact, only those books pay which are wanted for the education of the people and, for this purpose, the exotic Hindi is the only medium. Still many saints belonging to this area of which Kabīr was the foremost composed songs in Bhojpuri.

§14. Kabīr was probably born in the year A.D. 1399 (Samvat 1456) and died in 1518 (Samvat 1575). The book 'Kabīr Granthāvalī', edited by Śyām Sundar Dās, has been published by the Nāgari Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Kāśī.

It is based on two MSS., one of A.D. 1504 (Samvat 1561) and the other of A.D. 1824 (Samvat 1881), preserved in the library of the Nāgari Pracāriṇī Sabhā. The language of this edition is full of the Panjābī idioms and phrases. Kabīr has confessed that his mother tongue was Banārsī-bōlī—a dialect of the Western Bhojpuri. Naturally the question arises, why this Panjābī influence. It may be either due to the transcriber who replaced the Bhojpuri idioms and phrases by the Panjābī ones or it may be due to his association with the Panjābī saints. According to Dās, the latter is mainly responsible for it. But the first cause seems to have been more potent.

What had happened to Kabīr's language, exactly the same thing happened to the language of Buddha who was born about two thousand years before Kabīr. Sylvain Levi in a very important article in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1912 ('Sur une Langue Pre-canonique du Bouddhisme'), first suggested that behind Pāli of the Southern Buddhists which is supposed to be the oldest Buddhist canon, there was another canon in the original eastern dialect of the Buddha himself, traces of which in words and forms are seen to survive below the current Pāli text. Pāli in general has midland or western affinities but these eastern forms are the relics of the original 'Buddha-vacana'. This point has been also demonstrated by Heinrich Lüders ('Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen', Berlin, 1911, pp. 40, 41).

The same has happened in the case of Kabīr also. We know that he was not an educated man. Naturally he had no option but to compose in his mother tongue the 'Banārsī-bōlī' or dialect of his native town Banāras. This Banāras speech, i.e. Bhojpuri of the day, was a provincial dialect lacking the prestige of both 'Braja-bhākhā' which had inherited the tradition of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, as well as of the newly developing 'Khaṛībōlī' which was the Indian language current in the Muslim court. For intelligibility in the tracts to the west of the Bhojpuri area where Kabīr's message spread, Braj and Khaṛībōlī were more suitable than Bhojpuri. Consequently it was necessary to have Kabīr's '*padas*' and '*sūkhis*' re-written in Braj or Khaṛībōlī or in a mixture of both, so that from Western Panjāb to Bengāl and from the Himālayan slopes to Gujarāt and Mālwa and in further south, the teachings of the saint could spread. This translation into 'Braj' and 'Khaṛībōlī' could be easily done by changing the forms of the words a bit here and there.

It is also equally likely that Kabīr himself as a 'Sādhu' who had wandered a lot would be knowing the speeches of the west, viz. 'Braj', 'Khaṛībōlī', as well as 'Kōśālī', and he himself wrote in these speeches. Both the alternatives are equally likely. But considering that in the text as printed from a MS. of 1504 by Śyām Sundar Dās, we can see quite transparently Bhojpuri forms below the surface of 'Braj', 'Kōśālī' and

'Khaṭṭbōli' like eastern forms below the surface of Pāli, it is more likely that the first alternative was largely the case.

Below are given a few examples from the above 'Kabīr Granthāwālī' of Dās which go to support the above statement:—

(a) The noun stem in Bhojpurī has generally two forms—one short and one long. Such forms are found in this book, e.g.

khābhawā	(line 13, p. 94)
pauwā	(„ 14, p. 95)
paharawā	(„ 13, p. 96)
manawā	(„ 23, p. 108)
khaṭṭōlawā	(„ 15, p. 112)
rahaṭawā	(„ 22, p. 165)

(b) The verb in the 'Past Tense' in Bhojpurī has -al, -ale, etc. This is also found in many places in this edition, e.g.

- (i) julahaḥ tani buni pāra na pāwala, the weaver could not weave (line 14, p. 104).
- (ii) triḡuṇa rahita phala rami hama rākhala, I kept the fruit which is beyond three elements (line 14, p. 104).
- (iii) nā hama jīwata na mūwālē (muwalē ?) māhā, neither I am among the alive nor among the dead (line 19, p. 108).
- (iv) pāpī paralahaḥ jāhi abhāgē, the sinner got (became) unfortunate (line 17, p. 132).

(c) The third person singular future verb in Bhojpurī ends in -ihē. The following are the examples from the above book:—

- (i) hari marihaḥ (marihē ?) taḥ hamahō marihaḥ (marihē ?), if God will die, I will also die (line 21, p. 102).
- (ii) Idri swādī bīṣaḥ rasi bahihaḥ (bahihē ?) naraki paṛaḥ pūnī rāma na kahihāḥ (kahihē ?), the five senses will flow towards worldly enjoyments. They will go to hell, but will not utter the name of 'Rām' (line 13, p. 134).

That with least efforts, the poems of this edition can be restored in Bhojpurī also proves that most probably the original Bhojpurī forms were replaced by the forms of a Western dialect. In the following example, at first, the poem as printed in the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī edition will be given and then the restored Bhojpurī version. The restored forms will be given in brackets:—

maḥ buni kari sirānā hō rāma,
 nālī karama nahī ūbarē.
 dakhina kūṭṭ jaba sunahā bhūkā,
 taba hama saguna bicārā.
 larakē parakē saba jāgata haḥ,
 hama dhari cōra pasārā hō rāma.
 tānā līnhā bānā līnhā,
 līnhē gōḍa kē paṭwā.
 ita uta citawata kaṭhawana līnhā,
 māḍa calawanaḥ ḍaṭwā hō rāma.

(Page 95)

The restored Bhojpurī version:—

(mā) buni kari (sirālī) hō rāma,
 nālī karama nahī ūbarē.
 dakhina kūṭṭa jaba sunahā (bhūkala),
 taba hama saguna (bicarālō).

larakē parake saba (jāgatārē),
 hama dhari cōra (pasaraḷō) hō rāma.
 tānā (lihalō) bānā (lihalō),
 (lihalō) gōḍa kē paūwā.
 ita uta citawata kaphawana (lihalō),
 māḍa calawanā ḍaūwā hō rāma.

'I am tired of weaving, yet I am not relieved of it. In the southern direction, when the dog barked I thought of the auspicious moment. I found all the children awake, so I slept away as a thief. I took the weaving instruments (tānā and bānā) and the sandals of my feet. While looking here and there, I took the brush that rubs the starch.'

Besides the above authentic edition of Kabir, there are others also in which we find the Bhojpuri element more prominent. Of such ones, the Bengālī edition of Prof. Kṣitimohan Sen of Śāntiniketan is pre-eminent. In fact, the 'nirguna' songs of Kabir are so popular in Bhojpuri area that even the illiterate people remember one or two of them.

§15. Dharam Dās was another saint of the line of Kabir, who also composed poems and songs in Bhojpuri. We know nothing very definite about him but it is said that he was a disciple of Kabir and survived him by fifteen years. Some of the poems of Kabir have been addressed to Dharam Dās and this clearly proves his connection with Kabir. The book 'Dharam Dās ji ki Śabdāwalī' was published by the Belvedere Printing Works, Allahabad, in 1923 along with the works of Kabir. One of the poems from this edition is given below:—

mitaū marajyā sūnī kari gajlō.
 apana balama paradesa nikari gajlō,
 hamarā ke kachuwo na guna dai gajlō.
 jogina hoi ke mai bana bana ḍhūḍhō,
 hamarā ka biraha bajrāga dai gajlō.
 sāga kī sakhi saba pāra utari gajlī,
 hama dhana ṭhāḍhī akeli rahi gajlō,
 dharama dās yaha arja karatu hai,
 sāra sabda sumirana dai gajlō.

'My friend went away leaving my hut empty. My beloved passed away to a foreign land. (But) he did not leave for me any good thing (literally, good qualities). Becoming a female Yogi, I search for him from forest to forest.

He has gone away giving me the pangs of separation.

All the friends of my company passed on to the other shore, (while) I was the only girl who remained standing.

Dharam Dās makes this petition:

(He) gave me the Best (Highest) Name (of God) as a remembrance.'

§16. Śiv Nārāyan was another saint born in the village of Candrawār in the Ghāzipur district, who composed a number of books which are found in MS. forms but have not been published as yet. One of his books 'Guru Anyās' was composed in A.D. 1734 (Samvat 1791).

Śiv Nārāyan has employed 'Dōhā' and 'Caupāī' metres—the metres used by two famous Awadhī poets Malik Muhammad Jāyasi and Tulasidās for 'Padmāwat' and 'Rāmacarit Mānas'. His language is Kōśalī (Awadhī) which had attained a literary dignity in Bhojpuri area also. But he has composed also 'Jātsāri'—the song of the grinding mill—and 'ghāṭo'—the song sung in the month of Cāitra, and in these songs he has used Bhojpuri which was his mother tongue. His works have been in circulation in MSS. and they largely circulate in this fashion.

§17. Dharanī Dās of Mājhi, district Sāran, in Bihār, was a poet-saint who composed some verses in Bhojpuri. Two of his books 'Śabda Prakās' and 'Prem-Pragās' have been preserved in manuscript forms in the library of Mājhi. These I have consulted. As in the case of Śiv Nārāyan, he composed his work in Kōśalī in the narrative portion employing dōhā and caupāī but the songs are invariably in Bhojpuri. In 'Prem-Pragās', he has given the date of his renunciation A.D. 1656 (Samvat 1713):—

sāmat satra so calī gaḷū.
Terah adhik tāhi para bhajū.
Śāhjahā choṛī duniāī.
pasarī Aurangzeb dohāī.
Sōc bicārī ātmā jāgī.
Dharanī dhareu bhes bajrāgī.

'Samvat 1700 was completed and thirteen more years had passed also. Shāhjahān ceased to exercise his worldly power and the rule of Aurangzeb had begun. (At this time), after contemplation, the soul awoke and Dharanī renounced this world.'

The following lines have been taken from a manuscript of 'Prem-Pragās' which was completed on 21st date of Bhādō (year 1281 Fasli), A.D. 1873, by Mahant Rāmdās of Mājhi for Jānakidāsī *alias* Baratā Kuāra of the same place. The language is Bhojpuri mixed with Awadhī and the metre is payār which is very common in Bengālī:—

śumiru śumiru mana śirajana-hāra,
jinha kajlā sura nara saraga patāla.
rabi sasi agini pawana kajlā pānī
jiā jantu ṣāni ṣāni āni āni bānī.
dharati samudra bana parabata sumeru,
kamaṭha phanindra indra bajkūṭh kuberu,
gura ke carana raja sirwā caḍhāī,
jinha lelā bhajjala buḍata bacāī.
dewatā pitara binawalo kara jōrī,
sewā leba māni alpa budhi mōrī.
jahā lagi jagata bhagata awatāra,
more to jiwana dhana prāna adhāra.
tiratha barata cāro dhāma śālī-grāma,
māthe hāthe parasī karaḷo pranāma.
choṭa moṭa jiā jantu jahā lagi jhāri
bakasi bakasi lehu aḡuna hamārī.

'O mind! always remember the name of Creator who has created the gods, men, heaven and the region under the earth; who has created the sun, the moon, the fire, the air, the water and the various kinds of beasts and other creatures; who has created the earth, the ocean, the forest and the "Sumeru" mountains as well as the tortoise who bears the universe, Indra, the serpent (Vāsukī), the heaven of Viṣṇu, and Kubera. Putting the dust of my Guru's feet upon my head—the dust which saves men from sinking in this worldly ocean—I pray to the gods and the departed souls of my forefathers with folded hands. You please accept this salutation (*sewā*—cf. East Bengālī *sebā* and Assamese *sewā* = *pranāma*, salutation) because my mind is weak. In this world, wherever the devotees have come, they, indeed, are my life's treasures and the rest of my soul. Touching my head with my hands, I bow down to all the holy places, the religious fasts and feasts, the four great sacred places (*dhāma*) and Viṣṇu

in the form of the Śāligrāma stone. I also bow down to all creatures, small and great, wherever they are found. You please, excuse my fault.'

§18. In addition to the few poems by Kabir, Dharam Dās and Dharanī Dās quoted above, there is no literary document of Bhojpuri which can be taken up for the study of this language historically. A few letters and documents in Bhojpuri from the eighteenth century are also found. These have all been given together with some poems by Kabir, Dharam Dās and Dharanī Dās in the Appendix. Modern Bhojpuri songs and ballads, entirely of the character of folk-literature, are useful materials for the language but they are not of historical value.

§19. The scientific study of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages began about seventy years ago with the pioneer researches of Beames and Bhandārkar and it was the direct outcome of Sanskrit and Prākṛit studies. So far as Bhojpuri is concerned, Beames was probably the first man who made an attempt to acquire it for science. He contributed an article, 'Notes on the Bhojpuri Dialects of Hindi spoken in Western Bihār', in *JRAS.*, Vol. III, 1868, pp. 483-508. The article was read even a year earlier on February 17, 1867. There are three sections in this article—the first includes the phonology and the declension of nouns and pronouns; the second, the conjugation of verbs and the derivations of the postpositions; and the third is a list of common Bhojpuri words.

Mr. J. R. Reid also attempted to give a picture of the Bhojpuri dialect in his 'Notes on the Dialect current in Āzamgarh' in Appendix No. II, Settlement Report, 1877. In this paper the grammar of the dialect has been treated in brief. It includes (a) sounds (pronunciation), (b) nouns, (c) adjectives, (d) pronouns, and (e) verbs.

In 1880, A. F. Rudolf Hoernle published his 'Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages' with special reference to the Eastern Hindi. For the Western Bhojpuri of Banāras, Hoernle has given the name 'Eastern Hindi'. This is a unique work from the philological point of view as it is both historical and comparative.

George A. Grierson has provided rich materials for the scientific study of the Bhojpuri dialect by his numerous contributions. These can be summed up, in brief, as follows:—

- (i) The Song of Alha's Marriage : A Bhojpuri Epic. *Ind. Ant.*, August, 1885, pp. 209-227.
- (ii) Folk-songs in Modern Bhojpuri with Text and English Translation. *JRAS.*, Vol. XVI (New Series), Part II, 1884.
- (iii) Some Bhojpuri Folk-songs with Text and Translation. *JRAS.* (New Series), 1886, pp. 207-235. It is a collection of 42 Birhās, collected from the Shāhābād district.
- (iv) Folk-lore from Eastern Gorakhpur (N.W.P.) (in modern Bhojpuri verse) by Hugh Fraser, communicated by F. H. Fisher and edited by G. A. Grierson. *JASB.*, Vol. LII, No. I, 1883, pp. 1-32.
- (v) Essays on Bihārī Declension and Conjugation. *JASB.*, Vol. LII, 1883, pp. 119-159. Note on the above in the same Journal by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, pp. 159-163.
- (vi) Baiśwārī Folk-songs collected by Babu Jogendra Nath Rar, Ghazipur, contributed by W. Irvine and edited by G. A. Grierson. *JASB.*, No. 2, 1884, 'The Kajari Gīt', No. 7, and 'Jatasārī', No. 8, are in the Bhojpuri dialect.
- (vii) The Gīt Bijai Mal, a song in old Bhojpuri, *JASB.*, Vol. LIII, Part I, special number, 1884, pp. 94-150.

- (viii) Two versions of the song of Gopi Chand with translation. *JASB.*, Vol. LIV, Part I, No. 1, 1885—the Magahi and the Bhojpuri versions of the song of Rājā Gopi Chand are given side by side on the same page.
- (ix) Notes on the Vernacular Dialects spoken in the District of Sāran by Girindranath Dutt, Superintendent, Rāj Hatwā, communicated by G. A. Grierson. *JASB.*, Vol. LXVI, No. 3, 1897, pp. 194–212. A noteworthy feature of this article is this, that it furnishes the specimens of the dialect of Maghaiyā Doms of Sāran, Siarinarwā dialect obtained from Gorakhpur and Naṭuā dialect at Hatwā.
- (x) Selected specimens of the Bihārī Language, Part II—The Bhojpuri Dialect—The Git Naikā Banijarwā. *ZDMG.*, 1889, pp. 468–509.
- (xi) Fables and Dialogues in the Sāran Bhojpuri collected by Bisesar Parsād of Dahiāw, edited and translated by Grierson in the Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language, Part II, Appendix I, pp. 148–156. Published in 1884. Also Bhojpuri songs collected from the Shāhābād district with the help of Munshi Rādhā Lāl, Deputy Inspector of Schools, in the above book, Appendix II, pp. 157–195.
- (xii) The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II, contains a skeleton grammar with the usual specimens of Bhojpuri, both standard and dialectical, as well as a Nagpuriā or Sadānī grammar (as a form of Bhojpuri) with specimens.

Over and above, the following printed materials are also available for the study of Bhojpuri:—

- (i) Bhojpuri words, agricultural songs, idioms and sayings, etc. in Fallon's New Hindustani-English Dictionary, published in 1876.
- (ii) Also all the above lexical matter from Grierson's 'Bihār Peasant Life' (1st and 2nd editions).
- (iii) The Dialogues and Folk-lore of Banāras Bhojpuri at the end of Hoernle's 'Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages', published in 1880.
- (iv) 'Badmās-Darpaṇ' by Tegh Ali—a collection of songs in the dialect of Banāras city, published at Banāras, 1889.
- (v) More than a score of small books containing Bhojpuri songs and poems published from Banāras and Howrah. The following are noteworthy: (a) Bidesiyā, (b) Kajaris. These books sell for an anna or a little more and have frequent impressions.
- (vi) Eight small dramas written by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana (Rāhul Bābā). These are: (1) Jaramanwā ke Hār Nihicaya, (2) Japaniyā Rāchhachh, (3) Des-Racchak, (4) Dhunmun Netā, (5) Meharārūn ke Durdāsā, (6) Naikī duniyā, (7) Ī Hamār Larāī, and (8) Jōk—published in 1942-1943.
- (vii) Bhojpuri Lok Git, in two parts—collected by Pt. Krishna Deo Upādhyaya, M.A., and published by the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg, 1943.

§20. Bhojpuri embraces an area of some 43,000 sq. miles. Its boundary line does not correspond to the political boundary of any province. To the east of Bhojpuri lie its two sisters Maithilī and Magahi. Leaving the course of the Gaṅgā a few miles west of Patnā, the boundary line takes the course of the Sōn which it leaves at its bend near Rohtās, whence it

takes a south-easterly direction. Here it creates a wonder by making a linguistic peninsula of the Rānchī Plateau with its neck as the river Sōn. Its south-east line goes up to 20 miles east of Rānchī and makes a rapid curve round Bondu reaching near Kharsawan at its other end. Here it turns to the west leaving Oriyā on its left flank and making a deep penetration into the south it then turns to the north covering Jashpur State with Chhattisgarhī and Bāghelī on its left side. Reaching Bhandariā, it turns first towards north-west and then north-east and, finally, touching Sōn, it completes the linguistic peninsula of Nagpuriā branch of Bhojpuri.

Crossing the river Sōn, Bhojpuri touches Awadhī, makes a march along the course of Sōn up to 82° longitude, and then it turns north to meet the course of the Gaṅgā 15 miles west of Mirzāpur. Here the line again turns to the east, crosses the Gaṅgā at Mirzāpur and with Awadhī on its left, marches straight to the north crossing the Grand Trunk Road at Tamanchābād, running a few miles east of the Jaunpur city. Then it joins the course of the river Ghāgrā near Akbarpur and Tandā. Taking the northern course of the Ghāgrā, it again turns to the west up to 82° longitude. There it takes a zigzag course to the north-west of the Bastī district touching the Nepāl frontier north of Jarwā. Here the line encloses a long strip of land along the Tarāī partly from the Indian and partly from the Nepalese territory up to the north of the Bahraich district where live the Thāru people who speak a form of Bhojpuri. This strip of Indo-Nepalese boundary is, at places, hardly 15 miles wide.

The northern boundary line having a strip of land of the Kōsālī (Awadhī) speaking people to the left, between Gorkhālī or Nepālī and Bhojpuri, takes a dip to the south near 83° longitude, goes straight to the east round Rumminidei (the ancient Lumbini, the birth-place of the Buddha) and then it turns to the north-east round Buṭwal whence it takes an easterly course up to 15 miles east of Amlekhganj in Nepāl. There it turns to the south with Maithilī to its east. Reaching up to 10 miles of Muzaffarpur, it turns to the west and takes the course of the river Gaṇḍak to join the Gaṅgā at Patnā.

§21. The boundary line of Bhojpuri as indicated above differs in minor details from that of Grierson's, particularly in the north. The Indo-Nepalese frontier is not quite sharply defined as yet from the linguistic point of view. Here Grierson has contented himself by following the political boundary, though he indicates that the Bhojpuri is spoken up to the lower ranges of the Himālayas. By personal investigation, I have been able to fix the northern boundary of Bhojpuri to a line further to the north of that indicated by Grierson within the frontier of Nepāl. This boundary line has been fixed after careful enquiry at several points. The strip of land penetrating deep into Kōsālī contains Thārus as its permanent inhabitants. The Kōsālī (Awadhī) speaking people migrate to this area during certain seasons of the year for trade but its permanent inhabitants, the Thārus, speak Bhojpuri.

§22. Bhojpuri has, as Grierson has carefully noted, four dialectical divisions. These are the Northern Standard, the Southern Standard, the Western Standard and the Nagpuriā. The Northern Standard is spoken in the north of the river Ghāgrā. This area is again subdivided into two sub-dialects, Sarwariā and Gorakhpuriā. By drawing a line along the river Gaṇḍak up to the Indo-Nepalese frontier, thence a curve to the westward of a few miles east of Gorakhpur up to Barhaj, we have divisions of the dialect Sarawariā in the west and the Gorakhpuri in the east.

The whole of the Bhojpuri area, a little south of the river Sōn, is inhabited by the people speaking Nagpuriā. The Bhojpuri area between

the Northern Standard and the Nagpuriā may again be subdivided by drawing a line southwards from Barhaj to Ghāzipur and thence to the river Sōn. To the east of this line lies the Southern Standard Bhojpuri while to the west of it is the Western Bhojpuri.

Throughout the long strip of land along the Indo-Nepalese frontier, the Thāru Bhojpuri is the current dialect. These dialectical divisions have been shown in the map.

In fact, the Southern Standard Bhojpuri is the standard Bhojpuri. It centres round the town of Bhojpur which is situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā in the north-west of the Shāhābād district. From here it extends to the east and south over the whole of that district and is bounded in the first of these directions by the river Sōn, which, however, it crosses at the south, reaching for a few miles into the district of Palāmau. To the west, it crosses the frontier between the lower provinces and those of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) and covers the whole of the south Gangetic portion of Ghāzipur.

Standard Bhojpuri is also spoken in the north of the Gaṅgā in the districts which border in the Gaṅgā and are opposite Shāhābād, viz. Sāran, Balliā and Ghāzipur. It is spoken over the whole of Balliā, over the south and the eastern half of Ghāzipur. In Sāran, it is confined to the more southern parganas.

The Northern Standard Bhojpuri slightly differs from the true standard Bhojpuri. It may be called the speech of the Doāb of the Gaṇḍak and the Ghāgrā, omitting the tract of country immediately opposite Shāhābād. This Doāb includes the districts of Sāran, Gorakhpur and Basti excluding the Tahsil Haraiyā and the language varies slightly as we go north-west.

As we go further north into Gorakhpur, we find two distinct sub-dialects, that to the east being commonly known as Gorakhpuri and that to the west as Sarwariā. The latter extends still further to the west and covers the Basti district up to the river Kuāno in Tahsil Haraiyā.

The word *Sarwariā* comes from *Sarwār*, which is a corruption of *Sarayū-pāra* (MIA *Saravū-vāra*) or 'trans-Sarayū', that is to say, the tract of country on the far side of the Sarayū or Ghāgrā (Gogra) river, looking from the city of Ajodhyā near the modern town of Faizābād. Strictly speaking, it should have included the whole of the districts of Bahraich, Gondā, Basti, Gorakhpur and Sāran; but owing to a local tradition, it nowadays only means the country on the left bank of the Ghāgrā between Ajodhyā in Faizābād and Majhauri in Gorakhpur.

§23. Below is given a brief comparative study of the Bhojpuri dialects in relation to the standard form of the language (the Southern Standard as current in Bhojpur and Balliā):

(i) Nouns:

In the St. Bh., the feminine nouns have very often a short (i) in the end but this is dropped in other dialects, e.g. ākhī, eye; pākhi, feather, in St. Bh. (Balliā), but elsewhere ākh and pāk. In some words in N.Bh. of Gorakhpur, there is nasalization (spontaneous nasalization): bhāṭ, bard; nād, a tub, etc., but there is no such nasalization in St. Bh. of Balliā. There the forms are simply nād and bhāṭ. (See also below, under Adjectives.) In Sāran (r) sometimes becomes (r) due to the influence of Maithili. Thus ghōṛā, horse, of the St. Bh. becomes ghōrā in Sāran.

The plural in the N.Bh. is, sometimes, formed by adding the syllable sā (= so), e.g. ghōṛā sā, the horses.

(ii) Pronouns:

The N.Bh. of Gorakhpur preserves many archaic forms, e.g. **maŷ**, I, which is undoubtedly the old Bhoj. form, is found preserved in the nominative case. It occurs only in proverbs and in archaic or stereotyped expressions elsewhere. A shorter form **mō** is also very common in oblique which is equally becoming archaic in St. Bh. In N.Bh. of Gorakhpur **taŷ** is also used for the second person besides **tū**.

The interrogative pronoun (neuter) **kethī**, what, becomes **kethuā** in the N.Bh.

(iii) Adjectives:

For numeral adjectives 11 to 18, we have **egāraŷ**, **bāraŷ**, **teraŷ**, etc. and thus **-h** which is so prominent in the end of these numbers in the Standard Bhojpuri is dropped in the Northern Standard Bhojpuri. Again for **artis**, thirty-eight, **artālis**, forty-eight, **satsaŷhī**, sixty-seven, **arsaŷhī**, sixty-eight, we have nasalized forms **āratīs**, **āratālis**, **sārsaŷh**, **ārsaŷh** in the N.Bh. of Gorakhpur.

(iv) Verbs:

A. Auxiliary Verbs.

The Verb Substantive **bāŕē**, he is, often takes the form **bāŕē** in all districts north of the Gaṅgā, though the form **bāŕe** is also used. Thus we get forms like **bāŕī** in first person masculine; **bāŕa**, **bāŕē**, **āŕē** in the second person masculine and **bāŕaŷ**, **āŕaŷ**, **bāy**, **āy** in the third person masculine, etc.; the Standard **bā** is not found in the N.Bh. dialect.

B. Finite Verbs.

Simple Present—optional forms used in Sāran are 2nd sing. **dekhue**, **dekhues**, 3rd sing. **dekhue**, **dekhaj**; 3rd pl. **dēkhen**. Past—the characteristic 'I' is found in all the dialects of Bhojpuri but in Palāman the letter 'u' is also found.

Examples.—The following forms in use in Sāran are due to the influence of the Maithili spoken to the east of the Gaṅḍak as noted in the L.S.I., Vol. V, Part II, p. 225:—

First person—**ham dekhāliyai**—is used when the object of the verb is in the third person and special respect is shown to it. Thus, **ham rājā-ke dekhāliyai**, I saw His Majesty the King.

ham dekhāliāwā is only used when the object of the verb is in the second person, and special respect is shown to it. Thus, **ham raūṛā-kē dekhāliāwā**, I saw Your Honour.

Second person—**tū dekhālahus**—is only used when contempt is shown to the object in the third person. Thus, **tū maliyā-kē dekhālahus**, you saw the wretched gardener.

tū dekhālahun is only used when respect is shown to the object in the third person. Thus, **tū rājā-kē dekhālahun**, you saw His Majesty.

Past Conditional—2nd sing. **dekhātes**, 3rd pl. **dekhāten**.

§24. As stated above, the Northern Standard Bhojpuri has again been divided into two sub-dialects, 'Gorakhpuri' and 'Sarawariā'. The Gorakhpuri dialect has a few local peculiarities as noted by Grierson in his L.S.I., Vol. V, Part II, p. 229. The one which most prominently strikes the eye is the method adopted for writing the broad a-sound which is represented by writing the letter a twice, i.e. **aa**. Examples are **daa**, **laa** for **dā**, **lā**, etc. The only other point regarding pronunciation which is worthy of note is that the letter **r** is preferred to **ṛ**. Thus

we have *paṛal*, it fell, instead of *paṛal*. In the Standard Bhojpuri of Balliā we have *paṛal* and *paṛal* both.

As regards the use of the auxiliary verb, *bāṭe* is preferred to the Standard Bhojpuri *bāṛe*, he is.

The Sarwariā sub-dialect of Bhojpuri is spoken all over the district of Basti and over the western half of Gorakhpur.

The following peculiarities of the Sarwariā dialect of Basti, noted by Grierson in his L.S.I., Vol. V, Part I, p. 239, have been tested by personal investigation :—

We find the same reluctance to use the cerebral (ṛ) in Basti that we observed in Gorakhpur. Thus, we find *paṛal*, it fell, used instead of *paṛal*. The termination of the genitive is *kāḷ*, with an oblique form *kē*. This is borrowed from western Bhojpuri.

There are several peculiarities in the declension of pronouns. The oblique form of the genitive always ends in *ē* instead of *ā*. Thus, the forms *tuhārē*, yours, *okārē*, his, *in-kē*, his (respectful), *apānē*, you (respectful), etc. are found.

In verbs, the most noteworthy peculiarity of the Basti dialect is that the third person singular of the past ends in *-is* instead of *-as* or *-asī* of the Standard Bhojpuri. Thus *kahālis*, he said; so also, *dihālis*, gave, *lihālis*, took, *kaḷis*, did, and others.

The form of the verb substantive with (ṭ) is preferred to that with (ṛ). Thus, *bāṭe*, he is, and so on.

§25. The Bhojpuri spoken in the districts of Faizābād, Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Banāras, in the centre of Mirzāpur, and the west of Ghāzipur differs in many particulars from the Standard Bhojpuri. The most striking point is the abandonment of the oblique form of nouns and pronouns which ends in *ā*, and which is so characteristic of all the dialects of Bihārī, and the substitution of an oblique form in *ē*, such as we meet in Standard Hindi. Western Bhojpuri is, in fact, the most western outpost of the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan family of languages, and possesses some of the features of its cousins to its west.

The following are the principal points in which western Bhojpuri differs from the standard form of the dialect:—

(i) Nouns:

The following differences are noticeable in the noun-forms of Standard and western Bhojpuri, e.g.

Standard Bhojpuri (Balliā)	Western Bhojpuri (Azamgarh)
<i>lakṭhō</i> , a kind of sweetmeat	<i>lakṭhā</i>
<i>khāc</i> , a big basket	<i>khācā</i>
<i>bhāṭ</i> , a bard	<i>bhāṭ</i>
<i>sāṛh</i> , a bull	<i>sāṛ</i>
<i>jāb</i> , muzzle	<i>jābā</i>
Standard Bhojpuri (Balliā)	Western Bhojpuri (Banāras)
<i>gāī</i> , a cow	<i>gāy</i>
<i>ākhi</i> , eye	<i>ākhi</i>
<i>pākhi</i> , feather	<i>pākhi</i>
<i>bhāṭ</i> , a bard	<i>bhāṭ</i>
<i>sāṛh</i> , a bull	<i>sāṛ</i>

The postposition for the genitive is *ka*, *kaj* in the western Bhojpuri (Āzamgarh, Banāras and Mirzāpur). It may be stated as a general rule that, while in Standard Bhojpuri the oblique form of many nouns and pronouns ends in *ā*, in western Bhojpuri it ends in *ē*.

The locative postposition in the western Bhojpuri (Banāras and Āzamgarh) is *sē*, in the Standard Bhojpuri of Balliā it is *sē* or *sē*, but in Shāhābād it is *lē*. Thus:

pēṛ sē pataī girat bāy, leaves fall from the tree (Banāras). *phēṛ sē* or *sē pataī giratiā* (Balliā) and *phēṛ lē pataī giratiā* (Shāhābād).

For other postpositions, such as 'for', western Bhojpuri (Banāras and Mirzāpur) has *khātin* and *badē* and sometimes *khātir* also, but Standard Bhojpuri (Balliā) has *khātir* only. Thus *tōrā badē* or *tōrā khātin*, for you (Banāras and Mirzāpur) and *tōhrā khātir* (Balliā).

Similarly for 'officiating' or 'exchange for', western Bhojpuri has *santī* and *santin* but Standard Bhojpuri (Balliā) has *sātī* only.

(ii) Adjectives:

The cardinal numbers of Standard and western Bhojpuri have been compared in §386. The following differences in the multiplication table of Standard and western Bhojpuri are noteworthy:—Thus they say *du pācē*, *du sātē*, *du āṭhē*, etc., in the Standard Bhojpuri of Balliā, but *du pacē*, *du sate*, *du aṭhē*, etc., in the western Bhojpuri of Āzamgarh, Banāras and Mirzāpur.

(iii) Pronouns:

The pronouns of Standard and western Bhojpuri have been compared in §427ff.

(iv) Verbs:

We find the first person singular much more used generally in other dialects than in St. Bh.

§26. We have seen that on the extreme northern border of the Palāman district the language is Standard Bhojpuri, and that on the north-east corner of the same district, where it abuts on Gayā, it is Magahī. In the rest of the Palāman district, and over nearly the whole of the Rānchī district, the language of the settled Aryan speakers is a corrupt form of Bhojpuri, which has undergone modifications, partly by the influence of the Magahī dialect which surrounds it on three sides and of Chhattisgarhī spoken to its west, and partly owing to the influx of words into its vocabulary which belong to the languages of the non-Aryan population.

This form of Bhojpuri may also be said to have spread largely at the expense of the Austric and Dravidian dialects which were current all over the district before the Aryan speech came. The same language is spoken in the north and east of the Native State of Jashpur. (In the west of that State, the language is the form of Chhattisgarhī known as Sargujīā, and in the south Oṛiyā). It is generally known as Nagpuriā or the language of Chhotā Nāgpur proper. It is also known as Sadānī or Sadrī (Sadāri), and is called by the non-Aryan Mundās 'Dikū kāji' or the language of the Dikūs or Aryan speakers. The word 'Sadār:' in this part of the country is applied to the language of the settled, as distinct from the unsettled population ('sadr' or 'sadar' is a Perso-Arabic word in the jargon of N. Indian administration meaning 'headquarters'). Thus, the corrupt form of Chhattisgarhī, which is spoken by the semi-Aryanized Korwās who have abandoned their

original Muṇḍā language, is known as 'Sadri Korwā' as compared with the true Korwā language, belonging to the Muṇḍā family, which is still spoken by their wilder brethren.

The division of Chhotā Nāgpur contains two main plateaux, known respectively as the plateau of Hazāribāgh, to the north, and the plateau of Rānchi, to the south—the two being separated by the river-system of the Dāmudā (Dāmodar). The Rānchi plateau includes nearly the whole of the present Rānchi district, and most of the Gujrāt States. To the north-west, it gradually shades off into the lowlands of Palāmau, while on the east and south it drops more abruptly into the plain countries of Mānbhūm and Singhbhūm. On the east, a small portion of the sub-plateau tract belongs politically to the district of Rānchi, and here the language, according to Grierson, is not Nagpuriā, but is the form of Magahi known as 'Pāch Parganiā'.

§27. The following are the characteristics of the Nagpuriā or Sadāni dialect (following L.S.I., Vol. V, Part II, pp. 280-281):

(i) Pronunciation: A final -i is pronounced and written in the preceding syllable. Thus epenthesis, which is rare in St. Bh., is prominent in this dialect, e.g. **suwari**, a pig, becomes **suwaīr**. The influence of the neighbouring Bengālī leads the letter **a** to be sometimes pronounced as **ō** or **o**. Thus **sab**, all, becomes **sōb** or **sob**.

(ii) Nouns: Nouns do not change in the singular. The plural is formed by adding **man**, a termination borrowed from Chhattisgarhi. The plural termination is seldom used, except in the case of animate nouns.

The cases are formed by the following postpositions:—

kē, to (also forms accusative), **k**, **kēr** or **kar**, of; **mē**, in; **le**, **lāl**, **lagin**, **lagē**, for; **sē**, from.

To give the idea of definiteness, the Chhattisgarhi suffix **har** is sometimes added to nouns. Thus **bēṭā-har**, the son.

(iii) Pronouns: The pronouns of St. Bh. and the Nagpuriā or Sadāni have been compared in §422.

(iv) Verbs:

A. Auxiliary Verbs and Verbs Substantive

Present: I am.

Past: I was.

Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1. ahō , hō or hau	ahī or hai	rahō	rahī or rahāī
2. ahaīs , haiīs or his	ahā or hā	rahīs	rahā or rahālā
3. ahē or hai	ahaī or hai	rahē or rahālak	rahaī or rahālai

N.B.—**ahō**, etc. are sometimes spelt **āhō** and so throughout.

The following form of the Present is borrowed from Magahi:—

Sg.	Pl.
1. hekō	heki
2. hekīs	hekā
3. hekē	hekaī

N.B.—**ahaū** and **haū** are used as copulas, as in 'the water is hot', when the predicate is an adjective. **hekō** is used when the predicate is a substantive, as in 'this is water'.

B. Finite Verb

Infinitive—**dēkhek**, to see (dative); of seeing (genitive).

Verbal Nouns—**dēikh**, Obl. **dēkhe**; **dēkhal**, Obl. **dekhal**, the act of seeing.

Present Participle—**dēkhat**, seeing.

Past Participle—**dēkhal**, seen.

The Present Conditional is the same as the Future except that the third person is often, singular, **dēkhōk**; plural, **dēkhō**. The tense, which in other dialects is used for the Present Conditional, is used, in Nagpuriā, as an optional form of the Perfect.

Present: I see, etc.

Past: I saw, etc.

Imperative

Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1. dēkhō-nā 2. dēkhisi-lā , dekhis-lā 3. dēkhe-lā	dēkhi-lā dēkha-lā	dekhālō dekhālis	dekhālī dekhālā	dēkh , dekhābe dēkhok	dēkhā , dekhābā dēkhō

Future: I shall see, etc.

Past Conditional: (if) I had seen.

Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1. dekhābō 2. dekhābe 3. dēkhī , dekhātai	dēkhab , dekhābai dekhābā dekhābaī	dekhātō dekhātis dekhātak	dekhātī dekhātā dekhātai

N.B.—In the above, **dekhātai** and **dekhābai** are borrowed from Magahi.

The Definite Present is formed in the usual way. Thus **dēkhat-hō**, I am seeing. So also the Imperfect **dēkhat-rahō**, I was seeing. The Present is usually contracted to **dekhathō** or **dekhathhō**, I am seeing.

The Perfect, I have seen, has two forms, as follows:—

Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1. dekhālō-hō 2. dekhālō-hāis 3. dekhālak-hai	dekhālī-hai dekhālā-hā dekhālaī-hai	dēkhō dēkhis dēkhē	dēkhī dēkhā dēkhai

It will be seen that the first form is only the Past Tense, with the Present Tense of the Auxiliary suffixed. This principle of formation is borrowed from Magahi. The second form is the tense which in other dialects is the Present Conditional, and represents the old Sanskrit Present Indicative.

The Past Perfect, I had seen, is formed as follows:—

Sg.	Pl.
1. dēkh rahō	dēkh rahi
2. dēkh rahis	dēkh rahā
3. dēkh rahe	dēkh rahaī

Causals and Passives are formed as usual: thus, **dekhāek**, to cause to see, **dekhāwāek**, to cause to cause to see; **dēkhal jāek**, to be seen. The only irregular verbs noted are **hōek**, to be; Present Participle, **hōat** or **bhēwat**; Past Participle, **hōal** or **bhēl**: **jāek**, to go; Past Participle, **gēl**: **dēwek**, to give; Present Participle, **dēt** or **dēwat**; Past Participle, **dēl** or **dēwal**.

The Conjunctive Participle is **dēikh** or **dēikh-ke**. Comparison with other dialects shows that the original form was **dēkhi**, but the final -i is epenthetically pronounced in the preceding syllable. This i sometimes affects a preceding ā, so that it is pronounced something like ō. Thus **māir**, having struck, is pronounced, and sometimes written, **mōir**.

§28. The modern representatives of Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa are Bengālī, Assamese, Oriyā, Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuri. In the middle of the seventh century, as the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang would seem to suggest, there was one language spoken in Bihār, Bengāl and western Assam: only in Assam there was a deviation, probably in phonetics only. Bengālī and Assamese are practically one language, when a comparison is instituted among the Māgadhan speeches; and Oriyā is most closely related to Bengālī-Assamese. Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri as Māgadhan languages are related on the one hand with their sister languages, Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā and, on the other, they are closely related among themselves grammatically, except this that the verb-system of Magahi and Maithili is complicated. This verb-system seems to be a rather late development originating long after the differentiation of the Māgadhan speeches.

Early Maithili, as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' and in Vidyūpati, shows a simpler conjugation which might have become archaic and thus was restricted only to the language of literature, in the fourteenth century; but it certainly indicates that the intricacies of later Maithili were absent in Old Maithili.

§29. The Māgadhan speeches have been classified into the following three groups by Dr. Chatterji:—

1. Eastern Māgadhan: Bengālī, Assamese, Oriyā.
2. Central Māgadhan: Maithili-Magahi.
3. Western Māgadhan: Bhojpuri with Nagpuriyā or Sadāni.

Grierson has given the name Bihārī to Nos. 2 and 3.

The more important points of agreement among the Māgadhan languages can be summarized as follows and as the consideration of these points is important for Bh., it is better to quote ODBL (*in extenso*):—

(i) Common to all Māgadhan:

Phonetic: Tendency to turn the original *ā* sound ('Samvṛta' *ā* = (Λ)) of OIA and MIA into an 'ā' (ɔ): original *ś, ṣ, s* > *ś* (but in Central and western Māgadhan, upper Indian influence has helped this sound, after the development of these languages, to change to a dental sibilant, while in the extreme east, in Assamese, it has become a guttural spirant [X]); epenthesis of 'i' developed in all Māgadhan (though in the Standard Bhojpuri only a few examples are found).

Morphological: An instrumental in -*ē*, -*ē*, -*ē*, -*ē*; *kāra* as a genitive affix; original genitive > oblique plural in '-n(i)'; locative in -*ē*; -*l*- for the past base, -*b*- for the future base; remnants of an -*h*- future derived from the synthetic -*sy*- future of OIA (e.g. Bhojpuriyā third person sing. *dēkhī* < **dēkhihi*, Bengālī second person precative future *dēkhō* < *dēkhiō* < *dēkhiā* < *dēkhihā*). Roots *hō*, *ah*, *rah* and possibly also *ach* for the substantive verb (*ach* not found in present-day Bhojpuri and Magahi).

Syntactical: Active construction in the past tense of the transitive verb, and affixation of personal inflections to the past base (e.g. base *dēkh-il-*, *dēkh-al-* dialectal and standard Bengālī *dēkh-il-ām*, Assamese *dēkh-il-ō*, Oriyā *dēkh-il-l*, *dēkh-il-ū*, Magahi *dēkh-l-l*, *dēkh-l-ū*, Maithilī *dēkh-l-l*, *dēkh-l-a-hū*, Bhojpuriyā *dēkh-l-ō*, *dēkh-l-ī*) came to be developed independently in each. The differentiation between transitive and intransitive verbs, third person only (e.g. standard colloquial Bengālī *dēkh-l-ē*, he saw, but *cōll-ō*, he went, Assamese *dēkh-il-ē* but *tsāl-il-g*, Maithilī *dēkh-āl-ak*, but *cal-al-g*, Bhojpuri *dēkh-āl-ē*, *dēkh-āl-as*, never *dēkh-al-g*, but *cal-al-g*), can be called a common Māgadhan trait, having its germs in the Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa. There was a general tendency to give up the distinction between the nominative and oblique forms of the noun, which is now absent in the modern Māgadhan speeches.

(ii) Characteristics of West Māgadhan:

'ā' is pronounced as in northern India = (Λ). There is a developed long 'ā' sound (ɔ). Use of an affix '-as' for verb third person singular, through influence of Kōśalī (Awadh) (e.g. *dēkh-as-u*, *dekhe*, (if) he sees; *dēkhalē dēkhal-as*, he saw, *dēkhat rahāle*, *dekhat rahē*, he used to see; a present indicative and future (*dēkhi*, he will see); synthetic future in -*h*- for the third person only, retained; root 'vṛt' for the substantive verb occurs as *bāṭ*, *bāṛ*, *bā*; (root *ach*, be, now absent in Bhojpuri seems to have existed in old Bhojpuriyā); use of the particle 'khe' in connection with the verb (*nahī-khē*, *naīkhe*, is not, does not exist; *hōkhē*, is).

(iii) Common to West Māgadhan and East Māgadhan:

Root 'vṛt' as a substantive root (Bhojpuri *bāṭ*, *āṭ*, *bāṛ*, *ār*, *bā*, *ā*, Oriyā *āṭ*, Bengālī *bāṭ*).

Number in the finite verb forms are retained in Bhojpuri and Oriyā but distinction of number is lost to other Māgadhan.

The use of a particle (or postposition) 'lā' in connection with the verb in western Bhojpuri is also found in Middle Bengālī.

(iv) Common to West Māgadhan and Central Māgadhan:

Weakening of long vowels when words are extended or compounded through reasons of stress (a characteristic found in Eastern and Western Hindi as well: e.g. *pānī*, water, but *pānīā*, water, *pānī-hār*, water carrier). Dental pronunciation of the old Māgadhi palatal sibilant although written (Ṣ) in the Kaithī character in which these dialects are generally written;

'r' for Māgadhi 'l' (e.g. *har*, *phar*, *rāur* = *hala*, *phala*, *lāl* = *rāja-kula* (= honoured sir)—a well-marked tendency perhaps at one time the rule in central and western Māgadhan; three and sometimes four forms for the same noun, with preference for the 'awā' and *awā* forms (e.g. *ghōr*, *ghōrā*, *ghōrawā*, *ghōrāuwā*, horse, respectively 'weak', 'strong or ordinary', 'long' and redundant forms); an oblique form in -ē for nouns often retained; genitive of nouns in *ka*, -*kā*, of pronouns in -*kar*, -*karā* dative in *sē* (in Bhojpuri of Shāhābād also 'lē', locative in -*mē*; -*al*-, -*ab*- and not -*il*-, -*ib*-; a verbal noun in -*al*-).

§30. When precisely the split of Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa into a western, a central and an eastern group had become accomplished, it is very difficult to determine. As already stated, when Hiuen-Tsang came to eastern India (first half of the seventh century), it seems there was not much difference between Māgadhan as spoken in its own home (south Bihār) and in Bengāl. But the Apabhraṃśa stage was one in which IA was shedding off most of its old affixes, when old inflectional system was fast disappearing out of existence. New affixes and postpositions were coming into prominence in the declension of the noun, and the temporal and finite use of the participles was established for the verb. A few of these were already to be found in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa of the seventh century, the common source of all modern Māgadhan languages. But as the modern Māgadhan languages show, each local form of late Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa, in the Bhojpuri tract, in Mithilā, in Magadha, in Bengāl, in Orissa, solved more or less independently its own needs in the eighth to eleventh centuries A.D. This period was one in which the language was in a formative 'fluid' state in all Aryan India; this was roughly a period when the different characteristics of Māgadhan dialects were in all probability manifesting themselves but were not as yet fully established; when the dialects still looked back to the past to second MIA and the NIA characteristics were but in the process of formation.

§31. The vocabulary of any NIA language may with slight modifications to suit local conditions be divided into the six main sources that have been traced by Dr. Turner as contributing to the formation of the Nepālī language (Introduction to the Nepālī Dictionary, pp. xivff.). So far as Bhojpuri is concerned, these classifications would be as follows:—

- (1) Words of original Sk. or Indo-Aryan origin coming through a slow process of linguistic evolution through the MIA stage.
- (2) Words common to many NIA languages but not traceable to that earlier source.
- (3) Words borrowed at one time or another from other NIA dialects.
- (4) Sanskrit words either in original or in modified forms to suit the phonological peculiarities of Bhojpuri.
- (5) Words of non-Aryan Indian origin.
- (6) A certain number of foreign words—Perso-Arabic, Turki, English and other European.

Out of these six classes (1), (2) and (4) would respectively confirm to the *tadbhava*, *dēśī* and *tatsama* classifications of the native MIA grammarians. The modified Sk. loan words may be equated to the 'semi-tatsama' elements according to European scholars.

Of the various groups of words, the *tadbhava* constitute the most preponderating elements in Bhojpuri. This is mostly due to the fact that Bhojpuri is a language of everyday life and it has not been cultivated for the literary purposes like Maithilī, Bengālī and Oriyā.

Dēśī words have not been studied properly in the Indo-Aryan etymology,

Quite a number of such words begin with a cerebral sound and many with a palatal in NIA speeches. Such words are not uncommon in Bhojpuri. Moreover we find many onomatopoetic words and jingles in Bhojpuri. This is also a characteristic of Dravidian and Kōl languages. It is quite possible to derive some of these words from the non-Aryan speeches like the Dravidian and Kōl.

Side by side with the *tadbhava* elements, there is a fairly large class of semi-*tatsama* words in the vocabulary of Bhojpuri. These are modified loan-words from Sanskrit and are formed either according to the genius of the spoken language or under the influence of some dialectical cross-current.

There are very few *tatsama* words in Bhojpuri. As stated above, this is due to the fact that Bhojpuri has not been cultivated for literature. Among such few *tatsama* words which may as well have come through either Hindi or Bengālī are: *swāgata*, welcome; *rājanīti*, politics; *nyāya*, judgment; *buddhi*, intellect, *vidyārthī*, student, are of everyday use in life. In fact, even these few *tatsama* words are used by the people of higher castes only. The common people, however, use the *tadbhava* words.

Perso-Arabic Words

§32. The chief source for the bulk of these has been Hindi and Urdū in recent times. From the latter source as well as through 'Rāmcarit Mānas' of Tulasīdās a large number of Persian and Arabic words have been received into Bhojpuri. But a few might also have come direct from Persian. Following Dr. Chatterji, such Arabic and Persian loan-words can be roughly classified under following heads:—

- (i) Words pertaining to kingly state, warfare, chase, e.g.

amīr, *ojīr*, *khandānī*, *khās*, *tāj*, *darbār*, *daūlatī*, *nabāb*, *badasāh*, *mlrījā*, *mālik*, *hajūr*, *kābū*, *Jakhām*, *Jamādār*, *tammū*, *tōb*, *dusman*, *phandā*, *bahādur rasatī*, *risālā*, *sikār*, *sardār*, *himmātī*, etc.

- (ii) Words relating to revenue, administration and law, e.g.

ābād, *istamarārī*, *akhtiyār*, *kasbā*, *khajānā*, *khārij*, *gumastā*, *jamā*, *jaidādi*, *darogā*, *daphadar*, *nājir*, *piyādā*, *māph*, *mohar*, *savakh*, *san*, *sarkār*, *sūbā*, *had*, *hisāb*, *adālatī*, *akil*, *ijahār*, *ilākā*, *ujur*, *kasūr*, *kanūni*, *khilāph*, *jabitā*, *jārī*, *darkhās*, *nakal*, *nabālik*, *nālis*, *phiriyādi*, *mokadimā*, *monsaphī*, *saphāi*, *sālis*, *hak*, *hākīm*, *hājati*, *huliyā*, *hiphājati*, etc.

- (iii) Words relating to the Mohammedan religion, e.g.

ajū, *auliyā*, *allāh*, *imān*, *Isalām*, *īdi*, *kaburi*, *kaphan*, *kāphir*, *kābā*, *kurbānī*, *khatnā*, *gājī*, *jumā*, *tōbā*, *darigāh*, *dīn*, *duā*, *nabī*, *namāj*, *nikāh*, *nūr*, *phiristā*, *bismillā*, *mahjīd*, *moharrām*, *momin*, *mullā*, *sariyat*, *hadīs*, *halāl*, etc.

- (iv) Words of intellectual culture, education, music, literature, general refinement, e.g.

adab, *ālim*, *ijjati*, *imtihān*, *ilim*, *khat*, *gajal*, *kasīdā*, *majallīsī*, *munsī*, *sāgird*, *sītār*, *harūph*.

(v) Words of material culture, objects of luxury, trades, arts and crafts, e.g.

ahatar (astar), ayanā, aṇūr, acakan, atar, atasbājī, imārati, kāgaj, kalap, kinkhāb, kismis, barphī, kasāī, khātā, khansāmā, khastā, gaj, gulāb, gost, carkhā, casmā, capakan, cābhuki, jari, jardā, jāmā, jin, julāb, tagamā, tarjul, tasbīr, takiā, dalānī, pardā, pajāmā, polāw, pharās, phanūs, phawārā, baraph, bagalcā, badām, bulbul, makhamal, majdā, malaham, masālā, malālī, mej, raphū, rumāl, rikāb, resam, lagām, sanāī, sāl, sisī, sanukhi, surkhī, sorāhī, haṇḍā, haluā, hūkā, etc. etc.

N.B.—It is to be noted how the Perso-Arabic words ending in -at > -ati in Bhojpuri owing to the influence of Sanskrit words in -ti.

A number of words have been taken from Bengālī in Bhojpuri. The reason is obvious. From an early time, Bengāl has been one of the greatest centres for the Bhojpuri-speaking people. Besides, even an illiterate Bhojpuri picks up the colloquial Bengālī very soon, because there is much linguistic affinity between the Bengālī and his mother tongue. The following words seem to have been imported from Bengālī:—

murhī, fried rice; pāntāwā, rasgullā, sandes, camcam, sweet-meats; bāsā, bārī, house; ṭānā-ṭānī, tāṛātārī, hurry; phālī, piece; bhājā, jhōī, jogār, cūī, nāpit, siddh cāur, etc.

It is also probable that the words of European origin, other than English, have also been imported in Bhojpuri through Bengālī.

§33. The Bhojpuri is commonly written in the Kaithī Script, which is a cursive form of the Devanāgarī. In the Bhojpuri districts of Bihār, this is the most prevalent alphabet in the law-courts. Its name is derived from Sk. *Kāyastha*, the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindus. Formerly it was used in printing as well as in writing; but at present, so far as printing is concerned, it has been replaced by Devanāgarī alphabet.

PART I
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

PHONETICS

§34. Below is given a description of one form of Bhojpuri, viz. the standard one. The dialect described is current about the town of Balliā (Baliyā) in the Balliā district. This form of Bhojpuri is the mother-tongue and the home-language of the present writer and the pronunciation represented below is his own. The writer also examined several other speakers of the dialect and found their pronunciation to be almost identical with his. Thus it may safely be considered to represent as accurately as possible the pronunciation of average speakers of the standard form of the Bhojpuri language.

§35. Bhojpuri has altogether forty-four essential phonemes excluding the nasalized vowels. Of these, nine are vowels and the remaining thirty-five are consonants including fifteen aspirates.

§36. The most typical sounds of the Bhojpuri phonemes are indicated in the following Table I(a), (b):—

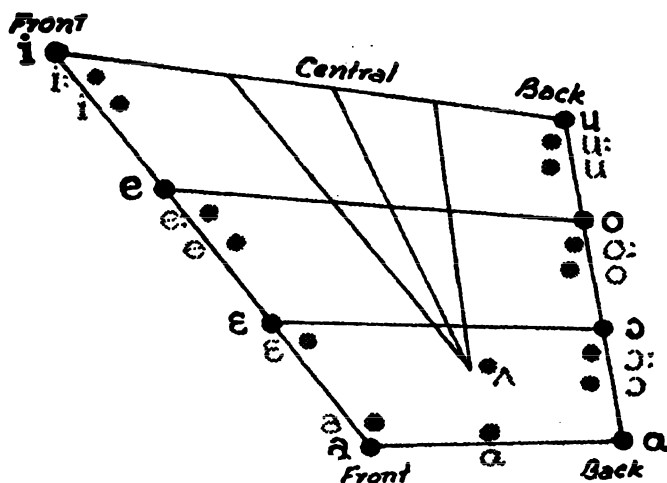
TABLE I
The Bhojpuri Sound System
(a) Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p, ph b, bh	t, th d, dh		ʈ, ʈh ɖ, ɖh		k, kh g, gh	
Affricate					ɕ, ɕh ʑ, ʑh		
Nasal	m, mh		n, nh		ɲ	ŋ, ŋh	
Lateral			r, rh				
Rolled				ɽ, ɽh			
Flapped			s				h
Fricative					j		
Semi-vowel	w						

(b) Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:, i		u:, u
Half-close	e:, e		o:, o
Half-open	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ:, ɔ
Open	a	ɑ	—

TABLE II
Formation of Bhojpuri Vowels



Cardinal Vowels: black.
Bhojpuri Vowels: red.

§37. The formation of the vowels is shown with greater precision in Table II. In this diagram the tongue positions of the vowels are compared with those of the eight cardinal vowels. Those who are familiar with the cardinal vowels will be able to form from this diagram a good idea of how the Bhojpuri vowels are formed and what they sound like.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUNDS

The Vowels

§38. (i:), (i) (I).

The above three vowels are represented by the letters ई, ए and sometimes by अ. The close front vowel (i:) is a bit lower than the cardinal vowel (i). In its pronunciation, the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate without causing friction. The side of the tongue is also raised but it does not touch the back of the upper teeth. It is a fairly tense vowel.

Bhojpuri short (i) is lower than the corresponding long sound, being about $\frac{1}{2}$ away from the cardinal (i) towards the cardinal (e). Unlike Bengali short (i), it is a tense vowel.

Bhojpuri (I) is a very short sound. It is barely audible to an untrained ear. In Western Bhojpuri (Banāras and Āzamgarh), it has, however, elided.

(i:) occurs in all the positions, (i) initially and medially and (I) occurs finally only.

Examples:—(i:ə:r), God; (i:ʒə:tI), prestige; (ti:s), thirty; (khi:sI), anger; (khi:ra:), cucumber; (e:ri:s), heel; (thu:nfi:), a prop; (mu:rhi:s), fried rice; (ʃhu:rI), knife; (inardali:), an ornament; (la:ʒ), medicine; (lara:ʒ), a musical instrument; (phikiri), anxiety;

(marica:), chillies, (kharika:), toothpick; (larika:), boy; (u:khi), sugar-cane; (po:l), sapling of sugar-cane; (jo:l), wife; (o:ki), vomiting.

§39. (e), (e).

These are represented by ए and ऐ. (e:) is a half-closed front vowel and its position is a little lower than the cardinal vowel (e). In its pronunciation, the position of the raised part of the tongue is a bit further back than in the case of the cardinal (e).

Bhojpuri short (e) is about half-way between the cardinal (e) and cardinal (ε). In its pronunciation, the tongue approaches more a central position. These vowels are a bit lax, but there is no tendency towards diphthongization. Final -e tends to become very much open, almost (ε), particularly, when it is an inflection or part of inflection coming from an earlier 'ai' or 'ahi'.

Half-long (e.) is a subsidiary form of the phoneme; its place of articulation is the same as for (e:, e). In the pronunciation of (e.), the tip of the tongue seems to touch the gums of the lower teeth.

(e:) and (e.) are not found in final positions:

Examples:—(e:li), heel; (e:k), one; (khe:ma:), tent; (khe:li), play; (cfe:la:), disciple; (ekohan), complete; (ekopa:ta:), a turban; (ekora:r), agreement; (dhekuar:), a medicinal plant; (dhebu:), a pice; (hase.le), he laughs.

§40. (ε).

(ε) is a very open kind of (e) approaching, it would seem, the cardinal (ε) position. It occurs only as a final sound. Usually, it is an affix. With emphasis, i.e. with an emphatic particle -hi added in earlier times (which particle has not survived in modern Bhojpuri), this final affix (-ε) becomes (é.) or (é:).

Examples:—(ghore), in the house, but (gha're. or gha're:), emphatic. Similarly (bone) but emphatic (bone. or bone:), etc.

§41. (âe).

(e) is found also as a second element of a diphthong (âe). 'Tatsama' or 'semi-tatsama' ऐ which becomes (æ) or (æb) in the western Hindi dialects occurs in Bhojpuri as (âe). Here we have a front (â) and open (e) combined in a diphthong, e.g. southern English 'man' (mæn) = W.H. (mæn, mæen), but in Bhojpuri, it is (mâen). So ऐ jai, W.H. (jæ:, jæe), but Bhojpuri (jâe), W.H. कैलास (kæ(e)la:s), but Bhojpuri (kâela:s) and W.H. ऐब (æeb), but Bhoj. (âeb). Many speakers substitute (A) for (æ) in this diphthong: (Ae) for (âe).

§42. (ɑ:), (ɑ).

These are represented by आ. In the articulation of (ɑ:), the middle of the tongue is very slightly raised while its body is a bit retracted as it lies low down in the mouth. It is really a central vowel and is not as open as English (ɑ). Opening between the jaws is medium to wide and the lips are not rounded.

Short (ɑ) is slightly higher than long (ɑ:). It is raised towards the cardinal (o) from the cardinal (ɑ) position and in its pronunciation the tongue raised up is not exactly the middle but midway between the middle and the back. The opening between the jaws is narrower for (ɑ) than for (ɑ:).

The two are found in all positions.

Examples:—(ɑ:ʒu), today; (ɑ:m), mango; (ɑ:nhar), a blind man; ɑ:gha: in front; (ɑ:ra:), a saw; (lo:ʒa), a jug; etc.

§43. (A).

(A) is the symbol employed for the Bhojpuri equivalent of the short (ä) = अ. Bhojpuri short (A) is not so open as the western Hindi अ = ä (A). It leans rather to the side of Bengali अ = (o). Bengali अ is distinctly rounded. Bhojpuri (A) is not so rounded, yet when it tends to be long or when it is long, it frankly becomes an (o) sound, though perhaps with slightly less rounding than in the case of the Bengali अ (o).

Examples:—(Açā:r), chutney preserved, pickle; (akñi), wisdom; also (das), ten; (bas), control; (gñar), house; (par), on; (dal), party, but we also hear (gñar); (bā.s); (dā.s), etc.

When the words are monosyllabic: (hamāra: gñarə par bā:, it is on my house, but hamā:r gñar du:r bā:, my house is at a distance).

There is thus a good deal of transformation of Bhojpuri (A) to (o). We must warn ourselves against considering Bhojpuri (A) as equivalent of western Hindi (A), although the same symbol is being employed for both.

Slightly long (A) tends to become (o.) in Bhojpuri, has been noted above. Further examples are:

(ham hāsabi, I will laugh), but (u:hā.sasū, let him laugh); so (ham çalabi, I will go) but (u:çā.lasū, let him go).

§44. (ɔ), (o).

These are represented by अ. In the articulation of long (ɔ), the back of the tongue is raised towards the middle of the palate. It is also a bit lower than the cardinal (o). It has a slight lip-rounding. The opening between the jaws is from medium to narrow.

In the case of short (o), the raising of the tongue, so far as height is concerned, is the same as in the case of long (ɔ), but the raised part is nearly the middle and not the back.

Long (ɔ) occurs in the following positions:—

- (a) Monosyllabic words, not closed by a consonant, always have अ as (ɔ) slightly rounded as in the name of the letters अ (kɔ:), अ (khɔ:), etc.
- (b) In monosyllabic words when followed by quiescent i or ū, very much rounded and long, e.g. (tē çā:īū, you go), (tē hā:sū, you laugh), etc.

Short (o) is found in the diphthong (ɔo), e.g. (Bāon), who, besides (Bawan), so, (kāon), who, besides (kawan).

§45. (o:), (o).

These are represented by ओ.

(o:) and (o) are a little lower than the cardinal (o). Besides, short (o) would appear to be advanced midway between the back and the central positions. The lips are rounded to a greater extent than in the case of (ɔ) but less than in the case of cardinal (o) or Bengali (o). The opening between the jaws are narrow.

Both are found in all positions.

Examples:—(o:çh), mean; (o:rū), basket; (o:th), lip; (go:r), feet; (go:r), fair complexion; (go:ñar), an insect; (uho:), he also; (osara:), a corridor; (o:ghāt), an exorcist; (ohaṭa:), far away; (moñarma:la:), a garland of gold mohars; (bo:ro), a kind of vegetable; (ko:ro), bamboo poles, etc.

§46. (u:) (u) (ũ).

These are represented by उ, उ.

The Bhojpuri u- sounds present a parallel to the i- sounds. The position of (u:) is somewhat lower than the cardinal (u) and a bit advanced also. Short (u) is lower than long (u:) and tends a bit towards the central. The lips are rounded, but the rounding is not so prominent as in the case of cardinal (u) or Bengali (u).

Very short (ũ) has very near the same position of the tongue as (u:, u), from which it differs in making the lips less rounded and more advanced towards the mouth. The opening between the jaws is narrow. This vowel is a tense one.

Short (u) cannot be used finally, while very short (ũ) does not occur in initial syllables.

Examples:—(u:khĩ), sugar-cane; (u:riḍ), a kind of pulse; (du:dhĩ), milk; (lu:lh), an armless man; (ba:lu:), sand; (na:u:), barber; (ukha:w), a field of sugar-cane; (udh̃a:r), debt; (uḡa:r), deserted; (senur), vermilion; (sasur), father-in-law; (sa:sũ), mother-in-law; (a:ḡũ), today; (la:rũ), a kind of sweetmeat.

There is a half-long (u.) which is optionally used for both (u:, u). Thus (u.the), (let him) rise; (su.te) (let him) sleep, etc.

§47. Nasalized vowels excepting (æ).

All the vowels excepting those given above can also be nasalized. In the articulation of the nasalized vowels, the tongue is raised higher up than in the case of the corresponding non-nasalized ones. The nasalization is due to the escaping of the air through the nose.

- (i:) —(i:ṭĩ), brick; (si:gṭĩ), horn; (si:ki), a straw; (me:ṭĩ:), thin.
 (ĩ) —(ikari), small pebbles; (sikari:) chain.
 (~ ĩ) —(bā:ṭĩ ~ ĩ), arm.
 (ē:) —(gē:ṭ), the upper part of the sugar-cane; (gṭē:cṭu), neck; (bēṭ), handle.
 (ē) —(gēṭuri), circle; (ḡēwari), rope.
 (ē.) —(gṭē:ṭē.), in the house; (bōṇē), in the forest.
 (ā:) —(ā:cṭ), flame; (khā:cṭ), a big basket.
 (ā) —(gṭā:ṭi:), a small bell; (gā:ṭi:), a cloth to cover head and body.
 (ā.) —(ṭiṭā:c), laugh; (phā:c), entangle.
 (ō:) —(gṭō:sũ), rub; (ṭō:sũ), laugh.
 (ō) —(ḡōs), an insect.
 (ō.) —(ḡō:ṭ), a kind of snake; (gō:ṭ), a caste.
 (ō) —(khōpaṭi:), skull; (khōṭṭiṭa:), hollow in a tree.
 (ū:) —(ū:ṭ), a camel; (khū:ṭi:), a peg; (bū:ṭ), gram.
 (ũ) —(khūkhurṭi:), a dagger; (ḡhūṭi), crowd.
 (~ ũ) —(bṭiṭi ~ ũ), brow.

In writing, however, in very many cases, the nasal sign is left out, probably due to the influence of standard Hindi which has the corresponding forms without the nasal element. The Bhojpuri (ṭiṭa:b), accounts, and (ṭiṭiṭā:s), history; Hindi (ṭiṭa:b), account, and (ṭiṭiṭa:s), history, etc.

The nasalization causes semantic difference and consequently the nasalized vowels deserve to be considered to belong to phonemes other than their corresponding non-nasalized forms.

Thus (go:ṭ), feet; (gō:ṭ), a caste; (ba:dhĩ), rope; (bā:dhĩ), an embankment; (kha:ṭi:), a cot; (khā:ṭi:), pure; (ga:ṭi), foam; (gā:ṭi), heap; (da:ṭi), an old woman; (dā:ṭi), time, as in (e: dā:ṭi), this time.

Besides, the amount of nasalization differs with individual speakers. There are some who always nasalize. This may be due to either defective organism or careless habit. But examples given above are always found with the nasal element.

Vowels in Contact

§48. There are no less than thirty-one cases of two vowels in contact. Some of them are diphthongs, while others form clearly two syllables.

Bhojpuri diphthongs or vowels in contact are either rising or falling or level or doubtful. There appears to be no hard and fast rule in this matter. According to the rhythm of the sentence or according to the exigencies of accentuation with the stress on the second element, the diphthong becomes a rising one and with that on the first element becomes a falling one.

The following are the diphthongs which occur in Bhojpuri:—

(ie)	as in	(<i>Ġie</i> . or <i>Ġie</i>) as in <i>Ġie</i> . <i>kha:tir</i> , for a living
(ia:)	as in	(<i>karia:</i>), black.
(iA)	as in	(<i>piA</i>), to drink.
(ia.)	as in	(<i>dia.</i>), lamp.
(io)	as in	(<i>daŋio</i>), in curd also.
(iu)	as in	(<i>Ġiutia:</i>), a day of fast for women.
(ei)	as in	(<i>khel</i>), will row.
(ea:)	as in	(<i>dea:d</i>), kinsman.
(eo)	as in	(<i>deota:</i>), god.
(eu)	as in	(<i>deukuri</i>), a place of worship.
(eu)	as in	(<i>neur</i>), mongoose.
(ai:)	as in	(<i>ċirai:</i>), bird.
(A)	as in	(<i>maI</i>), dirty.
(Ae.)	as in	(<i>bae.I</i>), ox.
(Au)	as in	(<i>hauras</i>), noise.
(a:i:)	as in	(<i>oka:i:</i>), vomit.
(a:s)	as in	(<i>kha:s</i>), for eating.
(a:u:)	as in	(<i>na:u:</i>), barber.
(a:u)	as in	(<i>ċa:ur</i>), rice.
(oi)	as in	(<i>poi</i>), upshoots of sugar-cane.
(oe)	as in	(<i>dfoe</i>), for washing.
(oA)	as in	(<i>dfoA</i>), washing.
(o:i:)	as in	(<i>fio:i:</i>), will be.
(o:a:)	as in	(<i>dfo:a:</i>), washed.
(o:u:)	as in	(<i>dfo:u:</i>), wash.
(o:o)	as in	(<i>dfo:o</i>), let him wash.
(o:u)	as in	(<i>bo:u</i>), sow.
(ui:)	as in	(<i>sui:</i>), needle.
(ui)	as in	(<i>dui</i>), two.
(ue)	as in	(<i>babue</i>), the child only.
(ua:)	as in	(<i>maŋua:</i>), a tree.
(u.a:)	as in	(<i>ru.a:</i>), cotton.

All these vowels in contact and diphthongs can be nasalized also. Besides there are some triphthongal groups, but they have clearly two syllables. They, too, can be nasalized. Thus:—

(Aua:)	as in	(<i>kaua:</i>), a crow.
(oia:)	as in	(<i>kheia:</i>), bark.
(ma:u)	as in	(<i>mania:ur</i>), mother's father's place.

(ua:i) as in (agua:i), middleman's business.
(AUA) as in (maUati), death.

Examples of nasalization of diphthongs and triphthongs:—(bñũ), earth, (ċẽũã:), a kind of bread for children; (ʒẽũã:), twins, etc. etc.

The Consonants

The Plosives

§49. The Labial Plosives and Aspirates (p, ph, b, bñ).

In the articulation of these consonants, both the lips come together and are drawn a little towards the cavity of the mouth, and are rounded to a negligible extent. In this respect, the labial sounds of Bhojpuri differ from the corresponding ones of Bengālī in which the extent of lip-rounding is invariably greater. While uttering these sounds, the air passage is completely blocked: then there is a sudden explosion of the air; and as it happens in the case of other plosives, and affricates also, the soft palate is raised up to close the nasal passage.

(p), (ph) are breathed, (b), (bñ) are voiced and (ph), (bñ) are aspirated.

Aspiration and voice cause semantic difference, and therefore the four sounds are considered to belong to different phonemes.

Thus (pa:t), leaf; (ba:t), talk; (bñā:t), cooked rice; (pu:l), bridge; (phu:l), flower; (bun-), to weave; (bñu:n-), to fry.

(p) and (b) occur initially, medially and finally in words.

Thus (pa:ni:), water; (ba:r), hair; (a:pan), own; (abɪ:r), saffron dust; (na:p), measure; (ra:b), molasses.

The sound (ph) and (bñ) are aspirated forms of (p) and (b). In Maithilī, these are found as the 'Labial Fricatives' also (Maithilī Phonetics, §17, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VIII, Part I). The Bhojpuri (ph) resembles the southern English 'p' of stressed syllables with the difference that the aspiration in Bhojpuri is stronger. In the case of (bñ), the voice is heard throughout the aspiration.

(ph) and (bñ) both occur initially, medially and finally.

Examples:—(phɔ:r), fruit; (bñā:t), cooked rice; (əɸhar), journey; (khambñā:), a pillar; (ba:ph), vapour; (na:bñ), very fertile.

§50. The Dental Stops and Aspirates (t, th, d, dñ).

In pronouncing these consonants, the tip of the tongue touches the gum of the upper teeth; but there is a feeling that it touches the teeth as well, although very slightly. When these sounds are long or occur in conjunction with other consonants, the tongue becomes more tense than for (t, th, d, dñ) used singly and touches the upper teeth.

(t) and (th) are breathed, (d) and (dñ) are voiced, (th) and (dñ) are aspirated.

Voice and aspiration cause semantic difference, and therefore the four sounds are considered to belong to different phonemes.

Thus (ta:r), wire; (tha:r), a big dish; (da:n), gift; (dñā:n), paddy; (tur), to break; (dur), distance, etc.

All the four sounds (t, th, d, dñ) occur initially, medially and finally.

Examples:—(tai:l), a lake; (tho:r), a little; (da:il), pulse; (dñā:n), paddy; (khatam), end; (po:thɪ:), a book; (ba:dɪ:), enemy; (bɔdñal), to kill; (ba:t), conversation; (ha:th), hand; (kha:d), manure; (ba:dñ), string.

The aspiration of (dʃ) is not wholly voiced—it is slightly devoiced.

Examples of their being more tense under the condition mentioned above:—

(kat:a), a big knife; (khanta:), an implement for digging the earth; (kantha:), ragged cloth; (gadi:), a mattress; (ganda:), dirty; (dʃandʃa:), work.

§51. The Retroflex Stops and Aspirates (ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ).

These are true retroflex sounds, and in uttering them the tip of the tongue, which is upturned, touches the hard palate just in the vicinity of the smooth surface. Acoustically they appear to be similar to the corresponding sounds of Bengālī, but we cannot call them 'Supra-alveolar' or 'Forward' or 'Pre-retroflex' as in Bengālī, on account of backward turning of the tip of the tongue being always very distinct.

Of these, (ʈ, ʈʰ) are breathed, (ɖ, ɖʰ) are voiced, (ʈʰ, ɖʰ) are aspirated. Voice and aspiration cause semantic difference, and hence the four sounds should be considered as belonging to different phonemes.

(ʈ, ʈʰ) occur initially, medially and finally, while (ɖ, ɖʰ) initially, medially or finally when preceded by their nasals.

Thus (ʈa:p), a kind of net; (ʈa:ʈ), thatched roof; (ɖo:ra:), thread; (ɖʃo:lak), drum; (khaʈia:), a cot; (pa:ʈhi:), a female kid; (kanɖa:), reeds; (ʈandʃa:), cold; (bē.ʈ), handle; (ka:ʈh), wood; (lanɖ), penis, etc.

Other examples of the retroflex sounds:

(ʈaʈ:u:), a pony; (laʈ:u:), a top; (ʈaʈhe:ra:), worker in brass, bell-metal or copper; (la:ʈhi:), a stick; (ɖa:ʃʃi), branch; (ɖamarū), a small drum; (ɖʃo:ʃhi:), navel cavity; (ɖʃē:ki:), a machine for husking rice, etc.

§52. The Velar Sounds (k, kh, g, gʰ).

In the pronunciation of these consonants, the back of the tongue touches the soft palate, and there is a complete closure of breath. These are the velar plosive consonants. But when these sounds are followed by (i, I, e, ē) the back of the tongue does not touch the palate at the same place as when the following vowels are other than these, but at two different advanced places towards the teeth; i.e. when followed by (i, I) the touch is at a more advanced place than when followed by (e, ē), which is also somewhat more advanced towards the teeth than the cases, where other vowels follow, e.g. (a, u, o, A). In the latter two cases, they are really 'Forward Velar' and 'Soft Palatal' plosives, i.e. 'Forward Velar' before (e, ē), and 'Soft Palatal' before (i, I).

Aspiration and voice cause semantic difference; consequently the four sounds should be considered as belonging to different phonemes.

Thus (ka:ni), a one-eyed woman; (kha:ni), mine; (ka:li:), a goddess; (kha:li:), empty; (gin-), to count; (gʃin-), to hate; (gir-), to fall; (gʃir-), to be surrounded.

All these sounds occur initially, medially and finally.

Examples:—(ka:m), work; (khe:t), field; (go:hū:), wheat; (gʃo:ra:), a horse; (bokala:), skin; (a:khī), eye; (bagaica:), a garden; (ba:gʃi:), a boil; (na:k), nose; (ra:kh), ashes; (na:g), a snake; (ba:gʃi), a tiger.

§53. The Affricates (ɕ, ɕʰ, ʒ, ʒʰ).

In pronouncing these affricate sounds, the blade of the tongue touches the rough back of the teeth-ridge, the touch continues longer and the separation of the tongue is slower than in the case of the plosive consonants.

Of these (čj, čjh) are breathed, (ʒ, ʒh) are voiced and (čjh, ʒh) are aspirated.

Aspiration and voice cause semantic difference, and therefore they are considered to belong to different phonemes.

Thus (čjo:r), thief; (čho:r), end; (ʒō:k), a leech; (ʒhō:k), a gust of wind.

The four sounds are found initially, medially and finally.

Examples:—(čja:ni:), silver; (čhu:ra:), razor; (ʒo:r), strength; (ʒhulufia:), swing; (khā:čfi:), basket; (ba:čhi:), she-calf; (ra:ʒa:), king; (bo:ʒha:), load; (na:čj), dance; (čhū:čjh), empty; (ga:ʒ), foam; (sa:ʒh), partnership.

§54. Aspirated stops and affricates, except the labial, lose their aspiration greatly, when they occur in non-initial syllables and are followed by unvoiced aspirated or fricative sounds. This takes place only when the vowels preceding the aspirated consonants are zero.

Thus (ha:th' kha:li:), empty hands; (a:dh' se:r), half seer; (sukh' se), with pleasure; (ghugh' haṭa:u), remove the veil; (čhū:čjh' tha:ri:), an empty dish; (bojū' thāmū), please hold up the load, etc.

The Nasal Consonants

§55. In the articulation of the nasal consonants, the nasal passage is not blocked by raising the soft palate, as happens in the case of non-nasal consonants; consequently the air passes through the nose, causing acoustic difference from the non-nasal consonants of the same group, although for these latter the tongue remains in the same position as in the case of nasals.

§56. The Bilabial (m, m̥h).

They are voiced bilabial nasal consonants; (m̥h) is aspirated.

Aspiration causes semantic difference, hence the two sounds should be considered as belonging to different phonemes.

Thus (barma:), an instrument; (barm̥ha:), Brahmā; (bāman), god Vāman; (ba:m̥han), Brāhmaṇ, etc.

(m) occurs in all positions while (m̥h) does not occur initially.

Examples:—(mo:r), peacock; (mahua:), a tree; (ja:m̥ni), black-berry; (kamari:), a small blanket; (ca:m), leather; (ka:m), work; (gam̥ha:ri), a tree; (kham̥ha:), a post, etc.

The (h) in (m̥h) is fully pronounced before a full vowel; it tends to become somewhat unvoiced (m̥) when there is a very short vowel after it.

Thus (po:m̥i), noise, but (pa:m̥hi:), little whisker; (bho:m̥aṭ) but (bho:m̥ha:r), a big hole, etc.

§57. The Alveolar (n, n̥h).

In the articulation of these sounds the tongue touches the hard palate, just at the back of the teeth-ridge and not the teeth or the upper gum. They are 'Alveolar Nasal' sounds. Both are voiced: (n̥h) is aspirated. The (h) in (n̥h) is fully pronounced before a fully pronounced vowel, but tends to become somewhat unvoiced (n̥) when a very short vowel occurs after it.

Aspiration causes semantic difference and therefore the two sounds are to be considered as belonging to different phonemes.

Thus (ka:n), ear; (ka:n̥h), shoulder; (čji:n), a kind of grain; (čji:n̥h), mark; (so:na:), gold; (so:n̥ha:), sweet smell, etc.

(n) occurs in all positions while (n̥h) does not occur initially.

Examples:—(na:p), measure; (na:k), nose; (pa:ni:), water; (c̥ja:ni:), silver; (pa:n), leaf; (ʒa:n), life; (c̥jo:nha:), false anger; (ga:nfi:), troublesome; (se:nfi), a hole made by a thief into the wall of a house, etc.

When (n) is joined to any other consonant following it, the pronunciation of the latter affects it so much that it loses its place of articulation and becomes retroflex palatal and dental according as the following consonant is a retroflex palatal or a dental sound. But this makes no audible acoustic difference with the sound when it is alveolar:—

Thus (ɖand), fine is heard as (ɖand̪); (kunj), grove is heard as (kunj̪); (kanʈh), throat is heard as (kanʈ̪h), etc.

§58. The Palatal (ɲ).

It is a voiced nasal palatal consonant and can occur in a non-initial syllable only.

Thus (niɲja:), sleep; (bɲiɲja:), earth; (baɲɲja:), good, etc.

Acoustically it resembles (~j~), i.e. nasalized y. It should further be noted that (ɲ) used singly is quite distinct from (n) heard as (n), in conjunction with the palatal affricates, as the two sounds are pronounced with the tongue touching the palate at two different places; the former, that is (ɲ) used singly, is less forward than the latter, i.e. (n) heard as (n) in connection with the affricates.

§59. The Velar (ŋ, ɲ̥).

They are voiced 'Velar Nasal Sounds'. (ɲ̥) is aspirated.

Aspiration causes semantic difference and therefore the two sounds are considered to belong to different phonemes.

Thus (saŋ), with; (saɲ̥), a guild.

Both of them occur only in non-initial syllables.

Examples:—(pe:ɲ̥ja:), a kind of bird; (be:ŋ), frog; (bha:ŋ), an intoxicating drug; (kaɲ̥ja:), bracelets; (ʈa:ɲ̥ʈa:n), a horse having very big legs; (la:ɲ̥ʈa:n̥), a kind of disease, etc.

§60. Lateral Consonants (l, l̥).

In the articulation of these sounds, the blade of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, further back than in the case of (t), while it remains further towards the front than in the case (c̥ʃ). They are a little more to the back than (n). Accuracy will require them to be named as 'Post-alveolar' sounds; so when they are referred to 'alveolar' sounds, the description is only approximate, as they lie between (n) and (c̥ʃ).

While these sounds are in the process of articulation, the air escapes from the sides of the tongue, and their pronunciation is accompanied by the vibration of the vocal chords. Therefore, they are 'Voiced Lateral Alveolar' consonants. (l̥) is aspirated.

The pronunciation of these two sounds is somewhat affected by the character of the vowel following it, when the latter is a member of the (i) or (e) phoneme. In this case, the tongue is more spread out than when these consonants are followed by the other vowels.

Aspiration causes semantic difference; therefore the sounds are considered to belong to different phonemes.

Thus (o:la:), hail; (o:li̥a:), a play; (ko:la:), a small field; (ko:li̥a:), corner; (ma:l), money; (ma:l̥), a string connecting the spindle with the spinning wheel.

(l̥) does not occur initially.

Examples:—(la:thi:), a stick; (la:rika:), a boy; (ma:lik), the master; (ba:lu:), sand; (la:l), red; (ʒa:l), net; (t̪e:l̪ha:), son; (ko:l̪hū), oil mill; (ka:l̪hī), yesterday.

§61. Rolled Consonants (r, r̪h).

They are voiced alveolar rolled sounds and are formed by a succession of taps made by the tip of the tongue against the upper gums. (r̪h) is aspirated.

When followed by a member of the (i) or (e) phoneme, they become more advanced than in other cases: even in the case of their being with (i, e), the advance is greater when the following vowel is (i) than when it is (e). The tongue is more flattened in the latter cases than in the former (r̪h), the aspirated form of (r).

Aspiration causes semantic difference and therefore the two sounds belong to different phonemes.

Thus (ma:r̪h), fight; (ma:r̪h̪), a kind of grain, etc.

(r̪h) can occur in non-initial positions only.

(ra:ni:), queen; (ro:k), check; (aruḍ:), a kind of root; (kharua:), a rough kind of red cloth; (bair), hair; (c̪ha:r), ashes; (ko:r̪h̪), leper; (mu:r̪h̪), fried rice.

§62. Flapped Consonants (ɾ, ɾ̪h).

In the articulation of these sounds, the tip of the tongue touches the hard palate, the main body of the tongue being kept low and the front being held concave to the palate and the whole tongue being laterally contracted (cf. Jones: *An Outline of English Phonetics*, §747, London).

§63. They are voiced retroflex, flapped sounds, and they occur only in non-initial positions. (ɾ̪h) is aspirated.

Aspiration causes semantic difference and therefore the two sounds form different phonemes.

Thus (buɾ-), to drown; (buɾ̪h̪), an old man, etc.

(ɾ, ɾ̪h) can occur in non-initial positions only.

Examples:—(g̪ho:ɾa:), a horse; (ʒo:ɾa), a pair; (ʒo:ɾ), an addition; (ko:ɾa:), a whip; (mo:ɾ̪ha:), a stool-like thing made of bamboo and ropes; (ba:ɾ̪h̪), flood, etc.

There is a (ɾ) sound with nasalization of the contiguous vowel or vowels, which is found in some 'tatsama', native 'tadbhava' or Prakritico words, such as (bā:ɾ), an arrow; (mā:ɾ), gruel, etc., and this nasalized (ɾ) is employed by Sanskrit scholars as a substitute for the cerebral (ṇ) = (ŋ) of Skt., which sound, however, is unknown to the native sound system of Bhojpuri.

§64. The Fricative (s).

In the articulation of (s), the sides of the foremost part of the tongue touch the front part of the teeth-ridge, the closure is not complete, there being a very narrow passage created by the partial folding of the tongue, through which air can escape with some friction. This sound can be continued as long as one likes. It is thus the proper alveolar voiceless sibilant fricative sound.

It occurs in all positions.

Examples:—(sa:g), leafy vegetable; (sa:ri:), woman's cloth; (g̪ha:s̪), grass; (pa:s̪i:), a caste; (kha:s), own; (bā:s), bamboo.

§65. The Glottal Fricative (h).

In the articulation of (ʃh), the air passes through the narrowed glottal passage, causing audible friction. It is fully voiced. When it occurs in non-initial syllables followed by very short vowels, it begins with voice, but gradually loses it and itself ends in being completely unvoiced. In the last case, its proper presentation would be (ʃh̥). It is properly the voiced glottal fricative in the former case, while in the latter it is a voiced-unvoiced glottal fricative.

Examples:—(ʃama:r), mine; (ʃa:th), hand; (ʃa:ʃir), present; (ʃe:ʃal), jail; (kaʃal), to say; (ekadāsa:(ʃ)h), the eleventh day after death, etc.

N.B.—The current tendency is to make (ʃh) inaudible. Thus (dwa:dāsa:) for (dwa:dāsaʃh), twelfth day after death; (ba:re:) for (ba:rēʃh), twelve in the Bhojpuri of Sāran.

§66. The Fricative (h).

It is the voiceless glottal fricative which occurs as the aspirating element in the voiceless plosives and the affricate; it occurs in some interjections also. It is pronounced with varying degrees of aspiration before a full vowel and a very short vowel, i.e. aspiration is complete before a full vowel, while it is partial before a very short vowel.

(jh̥:ka:), a gust (of wind); (oh), (eh) and (a:h), all interjections, etc.

§67. The Semi-vowel (w).

In the articulation of (w) the two lips touch one another at the two ends, leaving in the middle a free passage for the air to escape. The back of the tongue is raised upwards towards the soft palate, higher than in the case of (u), but not touching it. It is thus a bilabial semi-vowel.

It occurs medially and occasionally serves as glide from the less open to the more open back vowel.

Examples:—(pa:wal), to get; (sawatī), co-wife; (gāwa:r), villager; (puwa:) or (puā), a kind of cake; (duwa:r) or (duār), door, etc.

§68. The Semi-vowel (j).

In the articulation of this sound, the tongue is very much in the position of (i) (short), the air-passage being a little narrower.

It occurs medially and optionally serves as glide from the less open to the more open vowel.

Examples:—(pia:s) or (pija:s), thirst; (dīatī) or (dījatī), a lamp-stand; (d̥h̥il:a:) or (d̥h̥il:ja:), daughter; (la:r) or (lja:r), friend, etc.

In Banārasī Bhojpuri (j) often occurs medially. Thus (gajal), went; (bhajal), become, etc.

§69. Conjunct Consonants.

All these consonant sounds occur singly while most of them occur also in conjunction with other consonants. In many cases such conjunct consonants have also their non-conjunct optional forms with accent on the first syllable or with the preceding long vowel.

The following types of conjuncts are found in Bhojpuri:—

(i) Unaspirated stops and affricates (both voiced and unvoiced) can occur in conjunction with their corresponding aspirated forms or with themselves, following them. Phonetically they should properly be described as 'Long Consonants'.

Examples:—(cʃak:u:), optionally (cʃa:ku:), knife; (pak:i:), firm; (kacʃ:i:), unfirm; (bacʃ:a:), optionally (ba:cʃa:), boy; (bicʃhd:),

optionally (bi:ʃhi:), scorpion; (gaʃ:a:), optionally (ga:ʃa:), wrist; (naʃ:i:), optionally (na-ʃi), neck; (paʃh:a:), optionally (pa:ʃha:), a young kid; (dʃiʌdʃi:a:), optionally (dʃiʌ:ʃiʌ:a:), a long letter; (ʒaʒat:r), name of a man; (saʃ:rɪ), seventy; (ʒiʃd:i:), obstinate; (ʃup:i:), silence, etc. etc.

(ii) (n), (m) and (ŋ) are also long. They can be joined to a following consonant of their own respective group, and (ŋ) and (n) can be joined to a following sibilant also.

Examples:—(bun:a:), zero; (Kunti:), proper name; (maʃlanth), a monk; (ganda:), dirty; (lam:rda:r), optionally (lamarda:r), chief; (kampa:), snare; (ʃampa:), a flower; (lampat), wicked; (lampʰ), lamp; (lamba:), optionally (la:ma:), long; (daŋga:), quarrel; (luŋɪ:l), Musalman's wearing cloth; (kaŋk), very poor; (saŋkh), conch; (paŋkha:), fan; (ʒaŋgal), forest. (For other combinations with (n), see above under §57.)

(iii) (s) can be joined to a preceding unvoiced unaspirated velar or dental sound.

Examples:—(khuski:), dry; (kusti:), wrestling; (gaʃti:), vigilance; (pestar), in advance.

(s) can be joined to the preceding unvoiced unaspirated retroflex sound, e.g.

(ma:sʃar), optionally (ma:ʃʃar), master; (aʒpaʃ), optionally (aʒpaʃʃat), clear, etc.

(s) is long also: (ʃi:s:a:), optionally (ʃi:sa:), share; (kʰi:s:a:), optionally (kʰi:sa:), story.

(iv) The semi-vowels can be joined to a preceding velar, dental or labial consonant:—

(khja:l), optionally (kʰiʃja:l), remembrance; (pja:r), optionally (piʃja:r), love; (gwa:l), optionally (guwa:l), cowherd; (dwa:r), optionally (duwa:r), gate; (gja:n), optionally (giʃja:n), knowledge.

(j) can be joined to a preceding (n) or (m).

Thus (nja:w), optionally (niʃja:w), justice; (mja:n), optionally (miʃja:n), sheath for a sword, etc.

Except for the last type of conjuncts, no other conjunct consonants are allowed to remain in the initial syllable.

In the articulation of all these conjunct consonants, there is no release after the first element, and there is no implosion before the second.

SOUND ATTRIBUTES

Length of Consonants

§70. From the organic, as opposed to acoustic, point of view, a *double consonant*, as already stated above, is a *long consonant*, in the articulation of which the interval of silence between the stop-stage and the off-glide stage of the consonant, takes considerably more than usual time. The acoustic effect is of a single consonant in Bhojpuri. Therefore, they deserve to be termed as long consonants. Moreover, long consonants are sometimes significant in Bhojpuri.

(pata:), address, but (pat:a:), leaf; (gala:), throat, but (gal:a:), heap; (laga:), to be employed, but (lag:a:), a pole; (bila:), lost, but (bil:a:), badge.

Vowels

§71. The quantity of Bhojpuri vowels has generally no significant value. The length depends on rhythm. Vowels have at least four shades of sounds: long, half-long, short and very short. (A) is short only, while (i, u) have very short sounds.

Sometimes vowels have double length, and in such cases there exists some semantic difference when compared with those having only the singly long value.

Thus *ĉjalabi*, I shall go, but *ĉjo:labi*, shall I go?; *ham kañali:*, I said, but *ho:m* or *ho::m kañali:*, did I say?; *ghar mē:*, in the house, but *gho:r* or *gho::r mē:*, oh, even in the house! (surprise).

Thus various shades of sounds suggest, by length or otherwise, nice shades of meaning.

§72. Monosyllabic words are always pronounced with a long vowel. Dissyllabic words must have at least one long vowel.

§73. Pre-accentual vowels are never long, and a fully long vowel cannot exist before the third syllable from the end in a Bhojpuri word. A long or a very short vowel cannot precede a long or a conjunct consonant.

Stress

§74. Stress is not significant in Bhojpuri as its presence or absence causes little semantic difference. Besides, it is very weak and is frequently changing from one to another syllable. Monosyllabic words have their vowels always stressed. Stress is often accompanied with the length of vowels. Consequently, one of the last three vowels, that which is long, gets it: if more than one are long, or if all are short, the penultimate gets the stress—provided that if the penultimate be short and the final and the antepenultimate be long, the antepenultimate will have the accent. Accent cannot be thrown further back than the third syllable from the end.

This is about the primary stress ('). If the initial syllable has no primary stress, it gets a secondary stress (,).

Examples:—*'u:*, that; *'ra:ʒa:*, king; *'ba:ʒa:*, music; *sa'ʒa:i*, punishment; *'kha:sal*, to cough; *'ka'ta:wal*, to cause to cut; *'sari'ha:ral*, to arrange; *'aħa'ri:*, cattle pond; *'kaĉ'aħa'ri:*, court; *pa'sa:ral*, to spread; etc. etc.

Sentence-stress

§75. Sentence-stress dominates over word-stress. The sentence is divided into convenient bits, and in each bit consisting of two or more words ('sense group' or 'breath group' as in Bengali), the first important word gets the stress, the other words losing it even if they have it, when isolated. Below is given a text in phonetic script with the sentences split up into the natural subdivisions ('bits') in ordinary careful conversation. Half-stops and full-stops are indicated below by | and ¶ marks respectively. Optionally one can make a longer pause after a half-stop | and in that case the following word may take stress:—

ego 'ra:ʒa: | rañale | a | tini go unñukar 'ra:ni: rañal lo:g |
ba:ki: | 'ra:ʒa: ka: larika: | eka'ñu: na: rañe | ta'u | ego an'ri:
bia:ñ kalle | 'cauthi: ra:ni: ka: | 'garabñ rañal | ʒab larika: |
'ñokhe ke same | 'ail | ta | 'ra:ʒa: rañale. | si'ka:r par | 'ra:ni:
ka: | ego be:ʒa: | a | ego be:ʒi: bñal | unñukar sa'watñ rani: lo:g |
o 'be:ʒa: be:ʒi: ke | 'le ja:ke | 'kōñaire ka: | 'arwā: par | 'pñēki
diñal lo:g | a: | okara: ʒagañ par | ego 'tñ pathal | 'rañhi diñal

lo:g |. ʒab 'ra:ʒa: | la'waʃi ke alle. | ta | pu'ʒhale. | ʒe 'ra:ni:
k: | 'ka: bʃail ʃa: | ta | u 'tinu: | ra:ni:lo:g | 'kaʃal | ʒe ego 'ʔi |
ego pa'thal | 'bʃail ʃa: | 'ra:ʒa: | 'i ba:t | 'ma:ni liʃale. | a: | o 'ra:ni:
ke | kula'ʒhani: samuʒai ke | ego 'alaga: | 'gʃar me | ra'khale |
a: | un'huka: ke | 'kaua: ʃa:ke ke ka:m | 'diʃale. | a: | unʃukar
'na:m | 'kaua:-ʃa:ʃani: | 'ra:khī | diʃale. |

There was a king and he had three queens. But the king had no son. Then he married one more queen. The fourth queen became pregnant. When the time of childbirth approached, the king was away hunting (lit. on hunting). The queen gave birth to a son and a daughter. The other queens, her co-wives, took the son and daughter and threw them into the kiln of a potter and put a brick and a stone instead (lit. on that place). When the king returned, then he asked, 'What did the queen bear?' Then the three queens said, 'A brick and a stone she has borne.' The king believed this and considering the queen to be of ill-omen, put her in a separate room and entrusted her with the work of driving away crows and gave her the name 'the driver of crows'.

When emphasis has to be given upon any particular word, that one has the primary stress. It then causes some semantic difference.

Thus 'ʃam gʃarē galli: Did I go home?

ʃam 'gʃarē galli: Did I go home?

As it has been said before, word-stress is subservient to sentence-stress, so even a primitive or emphatic word may retain or lose its stress according to its position in the sentence without modifying meaning of the sentence. Thus ku'da:r, hoe, ka'ʃawā:, where, have their proper stresses when pronounced in isolation. But in a Bhojpuri sentence for 'where are you taking the hoe', where both ku'da:r and ka'ʃawā: occur, the position determines whether the stress is to remain on the word or not.

e.g. ku'da:r le le ka'ʃawā: | ʒa:ta:ra
ka'ʃawā: kudair le le ʒa:ta:ra.

In the first sentence ku'da:r has stress as the first important word in the sentence bit and ka'ʃawā: loses its stress because of its position and the case is *vice versa* in the second sentence. Of course, when greater emphasis is required, the word in question can take greater force of stress but the point is that the word which comes in the middle loses its stress. A few more sentences are given below:—

u | toʃa'ra:ke ka: | 'kaʃale |	What did he tell you?
'ka: kaʃale u | 'toʃara:ke	What did he tell you?
tab ego | 'bhu:t a:i |	Then a demon came.
'a:i | tab ego | 'bʃut |	Then came a demon.

Intonation

§76. Intonation, or pitch of the voice, is not a significant element of speech in Bhojpuri, as it is, for instance, to a slight extent in Panjabi and to a very large extent in languages like Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese and Chinese. Only one or two interjections in Bhojpuri like (ʃi:), yes, or (ʃi), and (ʃi:) to express ordinary assent, that the person is listening, undergo change in sense by change in pitch.

Thus—

1. (-ʃi:) level tone = yes.
2. ('ʃi:) with high rising tone = Is it so?

3. (f5:) with a low falling tone = certainly so.
 4. (~ f5:) with mid rise-fall tone = yes, it may be so, but—.

§77. Intonation is best represented by a system of dots and lines placed between two horizontal lines indicating the upper and lower limits of the ordinary speaking voice. The dots represent approximately level pitches and the lines represent rising or falling pitches. Each dot or line has reference to one syllable; a big dot represents a stressed syllable.

§78. The following general observations may be made about the Bhojpuri intonation:—

Simple statements end in a low pitch, e.g.

u 'cʃa:ur le a:we gaɪl ba:ʃan.

(He has gone to bring rice)

ham kal'kat:a: ʒa:ɪbɪ
 (I shall go to Calcutta)

okar 'bʃa:i hamra:se i kaʃalasi
 (His brother told me this)

ham ba'na:ras me i kaʃra:kinɪ:
 (I purchased this cloth in Banāras)

The agreement as well as contrast with Hindi as spoken by a person of western U.P. would become apparent from the following Hindi equivalents of the above Bhojpuri sentences:—

wcʃi 'cʃa:wɔɪ 'la.ne ga'ja:

maʃ kal'kat:a: 'ʒa:uŋga:.

us ke 'bʃa:i ne muʃʃi se jɔʃi ka'ʃa:

maē ne. ba'na:ras mē jœfi kaṛa:kharī:'da:

There is general agreement between Bhojpuri and Bengālī in the matter of this sentence stress than between Bhojpuri and Hindi. For Bengālī, see Dr. Chatterji: A Bengālī Phonetic Reader, §§61ff. For agreement with Bengālī, the following sentences may be taken:—

In simple queries, there is generally high (falling, rising or level) pitch at the end, e.g.

tū ka: ʒaɪ'bo ?
(Will you go ?)

But in doubt, the pitch will be:—

tū ka: ʒ aɪ bo.
(Will you go ?)

toḥa:r ma:i ka:'difi:
(Will your mother give ?)

When a particular idea in a query is especially emphasized, there is a low pitch or high-falling pitch at the end and the word emphasized by stress also has low pitch, e.g.

toḥa:r ma:i 'ka: difi ?
(What will your mother give ?)

toḥa:r 'ma:i: 'ka: difi:
(What will your mother give ?)

toḥa:r 'ma:i ka: difi
(Will your mother give ?)

ra:m ke bñā:i: kṛṭāñāt baṛ
(How big is Ram's brother?) (= ordinary query)

ra:m ke 'bñā:i: kṛṭāñāt baṛ
(How big is Ram's *brother*?)

ra:m ke bñā:i: kṛṭāñāt baṛ
(How big is *Ram's* brother?)

Exclamatory sentences end in a low tone:—

añ ka'l'saṇ sun:aṛ
(Ah, how lovely!)

§79. A normal Bhojpuri sentence consisting of more than one sense-group has an intonation curve of this type—

In quick matter-of-fact speech, however, the general pitch is very low, rendering the intonation of the sentence rather monotonous. But under emotion there is great variety of pitch.

Typical cases—

ba:ki 'sāb dukh ke ego 'ānt ba:
(But to every sorrow there is an end.)

sāb ka: 'ni:k naikhe 'la:gāt
(It does not strike as nice to everybody.)

hamni ke ego 'paṇḍit rañāle
(We had a Pandit: lit., for-us one-person *pandit* was.)

CHAPTER II

OIA AND MIA VOWELS IN BHOJPURI

FINAL VOWELS

§80. All final vowels of OIA when they occurred singly whether they were long or short became weak in NIA and have mostly dropped off. But some languages like Sindhī and Maithilī still preserve traces of them and Oṛiyā appears to have preserved them intact even now though only as short sounds. Eastern Hindi and western Hindi both appear to have retained them in full up to the seventeenth century. In Bengālī, however, final vowels appear to have been entirely dropped off as early as the fifteenth century (ODBL., §148). In Bhojpuri they are on the way of disappearance but frequently a faint trace of them remains particularly in the case of (-I).

(a) OIA -a

§81. OIA -a > MIA -a > Bhoj. *ǣ*; like Hindi. Bengālī and Assamese and unlike Oṛiyā final (-a) has disappeared in Bhojpuri. Examples are numerous, only a few are given below :—

ahirǣ < *ābhīra*, cowherd; *amcurǣ* < *āmra*+*cūra* (for *cūrṇa*), dried mango bits; *āthǣ* < *aṣṭa*, eight; *ināǣ* < *indrāgāra*, well; *ujarǣ* < *ujjvala*, bright; *oṭhǣ* < *oṣṭha*, lip; *kāǣ* < *kārya*, work; *khēṭǣ* < *kṣētra*, field; *cāmǣ* < *carma*, leather; *pāǣ* < *patra*, leaf; *mī:thǣ* < *miṣṭa*, sweet.

§82. A number of words of deśī origin evidently also show similar loss of final vowels, e.g.

gōrǣ < MIA *godḍa*, foot; *ḍāṅgarǣ*, cattle, cf. Beng. *ḍāmṛā*, an ox; *ḍhōlǣ* < MIA *ḍholla*, drum; *ḍhapōrǣ*, fool; *pēṭǣ*, belly, cf. M. Pk. *poṭṭa*, Marāṭhī *poṭ*.

§83. Ts. and sts. also as a rule drop the final -a, e.g.

tilakǣ, a patch on the forehead; *lobhǣ*, greed; *hārǣ*, necklace; *dharamǣ* < *dharma*, religion; *karamǣ* < *karma*, action; *janamǣ* < *janma*, birth; *ratamǣ* < *ratna*, jewel; *jatamǣ* < *yatna*, care, etc.

§84. When final -a occurs after another vowel in Apabhraṃśa, after the elision of the consonant in between, this 'a' strengthens the preceding vowel and makes it long, e.g.

gōrū < *gorua* < *gōrūpa*, cattle.
bhikhārī < *bhikkhāria* < *bhikkhākārika*, beggar.

This has been discussed below where medial and 'udvṛtta' vowels of MIA in Bhojpuri are treated.

(b) OIA -ā

§85. OIA -ā > MIA -ā > late MIA -a > Bhoj. -ǣ, e.g.

āsǣ < *āśī*, hope; *ḍesǣ* < *avaśyā*, dew; *kalǣ* < *kalī*, machine; *niṅǣ* < *nīdrā*, sleep; *bātǣ* < *vārtā*, talk; *ghoṛsārǣ* < *ghōṛa*+*sālā*,

horse stable; *hathisāra* < *hasti* + *śālā*, elephant stable; *ghing* < *ghṛṇā*, abhorrence; *sājha* < *sandhyā*, evening; *dhāra* < *dhārā*, edge; *lāj* < *lajjā*, shame; *parakha* < *parikṣā*, examination.

Here *i* > (a) through the influence of words like *lakh*, *alakh*, etc.

(c) OIA -i, -ī

§86. The vowels -i, ī when final are as a rule only half-pronounced in the dialect of Balliā. It does not mean that it is absolutely silent but that it is barely audible. But in the dialect of Banāras, these have elided, e.g.

(Balliā)	<i>gāthī</i>	< <i>granthi</i>	knot
(Banāras)	<i>gāth</i>	< <i>granthi</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>bahinī</i>	< <i>bhagīnikā</i>	sister
(Banāras)	<i>bahin</i>	< <i>bhagīnī</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>sattarī</i>	< <i>saptatī</i>	seventy
(Banāras)	<i>sattar</i>	< <i>saptatī</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>pāṭī</i>	< <i>pañkti</i>	row
(Banāras)	<i>pāt</i>	< <i>pañkti</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>gābhīnī</i>	< <i>garbhīnī</i>	pregnant
(Banāras)	<i>gābhīn</i>	< <i>garbhīnī</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>bhabhutī</i> (sts.)	< <i>vibhūti</i>	ashes
(Banāras)	<i>bhabhūt</i> "	< <i>vibhūti</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>jāṭī</i> (sts.)	< <i>jāti-</i>	caste
(Banāras)	<i>jāt</i> "	< <i>jāti</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>rīṭī</i> "	< <i>rīti</i>	custom
(Banāras)	<i>rīt</i> "	< <i>rīti</i>	"
(Balliā)	<i>muratī</i> (sts.)	< <i>mūrti</i>	image
(Banāras)	<i>mūrat</i> "	< <i>mūrti</i>	"

(d) OIA, MIA -e

§87. In Bhojpuri as a Māgadhan dialect, the nominative 'e' was inherited as 'ɛ' but this has not been preserved. The locative 'e' similarly changed to 'ɛ' in Apabhraṃśa and because the words having this quiescent 'ɛ' had an adverbial force, it has dropped off entirely in the words—

ās pās < *āśraye pārśve*, around; *ghar ghar* < *grhe grhe*, in every house.

CHAPTER III

INITIAL VOWELS

APHAERESIS

§88. Vowels in initial syllables are generally retained but owing to stress on non-initial syllables, an original initial long vowel is shortened or a short vowel is dropped. This dropping of the initial vowels goes by the name of aphaeresis. Below are given a few examples that are obtained in Bhojpuri, e.g.

bhitar	..	(<i>abhyanlara</i>)	inside
√bhij	..	(<i>abhyañja</i>)	to be drenched
√bait̥h	..	(<i>upaviṣṭa</i>)	to sit
lāci	..	(<i>ēlā-</i> , cf. Hindi <i>ilīyaci</i>)	
rīthā	..	(<i>ariṣṭa</i>)	soap-nut
panahi	..	(<i>upānaha</i>)	a pair of shoes
tisi	..	(* <i>atisi</i> < <i>atasi</i>)	linseed
sawār	..	(MIA loan-word OP. <i>asavāra</i> < <i>aśvabhūra</i>)	horseman
qūmari	..	(<i>udumbara</i>)	a kind of tree
rēṛi	..	(<i>eraṇḍikī</i>)	a kind of plant
lauki	..	(<i>alābu-</i>)	pumpkin

CHANGES OF INITIAL VOWELS

Initial consonant with ā + one consonant

§89. The ā- in the initial syllable followed by a single consonant generally remains ā- in Bhojpuri, e.g.

kāwal (*kamala*), lotus flower; jāl (*jala-*), water; kāruā (*kaṭuka-*), bitter; phār (*phala*), fruit; hār (*hala*), yoke; kāhe (*kathayati*), he may say; khāntā (*khanitra-*), an instrument for digging; gārur (*garuḍa*); jān (*jana*), people; bhār (*bhaṭa*, *bhṛta*), cf. Bengālī *bhār*, a lower caste; dāhī (*dadhi*), and kālas (*kalāśa*), a pot; sts. dhānukh (*dhanuṣa*), bow.

Perso-Arabic words also retain the -ā, e.g. māhal, palace; gājal, a kind of metre; phāsal, crop; jābān, tongue; nāmāj, prayer; khābar, news.

OIA and MIA ā in initial syllables followed by two or more consonants.

§90. This remained short up to late MIA, but in NIA this became ā with consonantal simplification unless absence of accent weakened this 'ā' once again to (a). If the conjuncts are made up of a nasal consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalization of the lengthened (ā-) and the following consonant divested of the nasal remains, e.g.

cām (*carma*), leather; chātā (*chatra*), umbrella; bhāt (*bhakta*), boiled rice; bhāt (*bhaṭṭa*), bard; sāc (*satya*), truth; kām (*karma*), action; ghām (*gharma*); āj (*adya*), today; kām (*karma*), ear; pām (*parṇa*);

gāl < MIA (*galla*), cheeks; āt (*antra*), entrails; jāt (*yantra*), grinding machine; dāt (*danta*), teeth; ākus (*aṅkuṣa*), goad; āk (*aṅka*), number.

§91. OIA 'r' before single or conjunct consonants, when it became 'ḍ' in MIA behaved like original ḍ, e.g.

grha > **garha* > *ghar*, house; *kṛtya* > *kacca* > *kāc* (as in *kācāral*, meaning washing of clothes), but *kācaharī* < *kṛtya-grha*, court; *ṇṛtya* > *nacca* > *nāc*, dance but *nācawānī*, *karma* > *kamma* > *kām*, work but *kāmcōr*; *bhakta* > *bhatta* > *bhāt*, boiled rice but *bhātā-khōr*, etc.

Initial ā, and ā in initial syllables

§92. OIA ā before one consonant remained ā in MIA and NIA unless weakened to ă in either MIA or NIA through absence of stress, e.g.

khāī (*khūti-*), ditch; *ghāw* (*ghāta*), wound; *ghānī* (*ghāta*, Pk. *ghāṇa*), oil mill; *pānī* (*pūniya*), water; *jhār* (deśī: *jhāṭa*), a cluster of trees; *bhāī* (*bhrātṛ*), brother; *māī* (*mātṛ*), mother; *sāwan* (*śrāvāṇa*), name of a month; *sāwar* (*śyāmala*), dark-complexioned; *naū* (**nāvua*, **nāvia*, *nāpita*), barber.

§93. In the case of stress ā is weakened to (ă), e.g.

nārlar (*nārikela*), cocoanut; *āhērī* (*ākhēṭika*), hunter; *āsārḥ* (*āṣādha*), the name of a month; *ākas* (*ākrośa*), enmity; *ācawan* (*ācamana*), to wash mouth with water; *bānārsī* (*vīrāṇasīya-*), belonging to Banāras; *ānann* (*ānanda*), happiness; *āwārā* (*āmālaka*), a kind of fruit; *ākaṣḍīā* (*ākāṣḍīpa-*), a lamp lighted and raised on a pole in the month of Kārtika in honour of Viṣṇu or Lakṣmī.

Sts. *narāyan* (*nārāyaṇa*); sts. *rajput* (*rājaputra*); sts. *acaraj* (*āścarya*), wonder; sts. *aiḡā* (*ājñā*), an invitation.

OIA ā before two consonants

§94. OIA ā before conjunct consonants was shortened to ă in MIA and this ă followed the fortunes of MIA ă before double consonants in Bhojpuri, e.g.

ām (*āmba*, *āmra*), mango; *bāgh* (*vāggha*, *vyāghra*), tiger; *bāt* (*vāṭṭa*, *vāṭṭi*), talk; *jār* (*jaḍḍa*, *jāḍya*), cold; *kāj* (*kāḷja*, *kārya*), action; *tāmā* (*tamba-*, *tīmra*), copper; *kāṭh* (*kāṭṭha*, *kāṣṭha*), wood, *bhāṭ* (*bhaṇḍa*, **bhāṇḍa*), buffoon.

§95. Bhojpuri 'ā' derived from OIA ā whether before one consonant or more became shortened to (a) for reason of accent, e.g.

kāṭh, wood but *kāṭhāutī*, wood-pan; *bāt*, talk but *batīāibi*, I shall talk (**vāṭṭāpayitavya*); *bāgh*, tiger but *baghā-chāl*, tiger-skin; *ām*, mango, but *amāwaṭ*, dried mango-juice.

§96. OIA ā- in the initial syllable > ā in MIA remains (Ā) when in the next syllable it is followed by the long vowel (Ā) in a position of stress, e.g.

bakhān (MIA *vakkhāṇa*, OIA *vyākhyāna*), praise; *bhāṭār* (MIA **bhaṭāḍāra*, OIA *bhāṇḍāra*), store.

Initial ɪ, and ʌ in initial syllables

§97. OIA and MIA ɪ, ʌ in initial syllables followed by one consonant retains its quantity in Bhojpuri. In the pronunciation of these two sounds Bhojpuri has a similarity with that of Bengālī. In Bengālī, the monosyllables have the vowel long and polysyllables short. The quantity, however, is ignored in writing. This kind of accommodation of quantity to the rhythm of the entire word or sentence is found in most languages including Kharibōlī; Bhojpuri also has it, e.g.

ḍīn dukhiā, poor, pronounced as **ḍīn dukhiā**, **cinā badām**, ground-nut, is pronounced as **cinā badām**, **rām sītā**, Rama and Sita, is pronounced as **rām sītā**.

§98. OIA and MIA ɪ, ʌ in initial syllables followed by one consonant retains its quantity in Bhojpuri, e.g.

piyās (*pipāsā*), thirst; **khīr-** (*kṣīra*), a kind of food, a preparation of milk and rice; **ghīn** (MIA *ghinā*, OIA *ghṛṇā*), hatred; **khilā** (*kilaka*), peg; **bhān** (*vibhāna*), morning; **siyār** (MIA *siāla*), jackal; **khīn** (*kṣīṇa*), emaciated; **kīrā** (*kīṭa*), worm; **niyar** (*nikāṭa*), near; **√pie** (*pibati*), to drink; **siyal** < **√siv-**, to stitch.

§99. ɪ, ʌ of MIA < ɪ, ʌ, ɾ of OIA followed by two or more consonants become short ɪ before two consonants in MIA and in Bhojpuri it normally becomes long (I) before one consonant or remains short (I) before a consonant +h (not the aspirates of the five vargas). But owing to reason of accent, (I) of Bhojpuri becomes (I), e.g.

inār (*indrāgāra*), well; **cīnh** (*cihna*), mark; **jībhi** (*jihvī*), tongue; **ḍīthī** (*dr̥ṣṭi*), sight; **pīthī** (**pr̥sthī*), back; **pītar** (MIA *pītal*), brass; **bichī** (*vr̥śca + vr̥ścikā*), scorpion; **bhikhī** (*bhikṣi-*), begging; **īṭī** (*iṣṭa*), bricks; **bintī** < *vijñaptikī*, prayer; **niṭhur** (*niṣṭhura*), hard-hearted; **nikās** (*niṣkāsa*), the way out.

§100. In the case of accent ɪ > (I), e.g. **jībhi**, tongue but **jībhiāwal**, lick by tongue; **pītar**, brass but **pītarālī**, sour on account of brass; **cīnh**, sign but **cīnhārū**, identity.

ū, ū initial and in initial syllables

§101. ū, ū initial and in initial syllables followed by one consonant remain, e.g.

khur (*kṣura*), hoof; **purān** (*purātana*), old; **guā** (*guvāka*), arca-nut; **bhūī** (*bhūmi*), earth; **churī** (*kṣurikā*), knife; **kūwār** (*kumāra*); **gūh** (*gūṭha*), night-soil; **dhūhā** (*dhr̥uṇa*), seedling of roots; **jūā** (*dyūla*), gambling; **puttī** (MIA *putti-*, OIA *putikā*); **sugā** (*śuka*), parrot; **sts. upās** (*upavāsa*), fast.

§102. OIA and MIA initial ū, ū before two or more consonants remain, e.g.

khud (*kṣudra*), small particles; **dubar** (*durbala*), weak; **sūt** (*sūtra*), thread; **√ukhar-** (MIA **√ukkhad-**), to pull; **ujar** (*ujjvala*), bright; **√ur-** (MIA **√uḍḍa**), to fly; **√puch-** (MIA **√pucch-**), to ask; **culhi** (*cullī*), oven; **√bujh-** (*budhya-*), to understand; **cūn** (*cūrṇa*), powder; **√ṭuṭ-** (*tr̥uṭya-*), break; **√jujh-** (*yudhya-*), to fight; **sūn** (*śūnya*), void; **pun** (*puṇya*).

§103. Through absence of accent long ū in Bhojpuri becomes short ū as dūdh but dūdhmūhā, suckling; cūn but cūnawaṭī, lime-case; ūd but ūdbilāri, otter.

ē, ē initial and in initial syllables

§104. (e), (ē) < MIA (e), OIA (e), (ai), (ay), before one consonant are retained, e.g.

khēp (*kṣepa*), load; khēl (MIA *khelā*), play; dēwar (*devara*), husband's younger brother; cēlā (MIA **cella*-), disciple; cēri (*ceṣi*), maid-servant; bēr (*velā*), time; egārah (**ēāraha*, OIA *ekādaśa*); sts. tēj (*tejah*), lustre; sts. bhēs (*veśa*), dress; ts. phēn (*phena*), foam.

§105. (ē), (ē) < MIA 'e', OIA *e*, *ai*, *ay* before two or more consonants are retained, e.g.

khēt (*kṣetra*), field; bēt (*vetra*), cane; sēthī (MIA *sethī*-, OIA *śreṣṭhīn*-), merchant; jēth (*jyeṣṭha*), elder; dēkh (MIA *dekkha*), to see; bhērā (*bhedra*- **bhedā*-), ram; gēnā (*genduka*- MIA *geṇḍu*), ball; deśī pēt (MIA *peṭṭa*), belly; ētnā (MIA *ettia*), so much; hēthā (MIA *heṭṭha*-), below; sēj (MIA *sejja*-), bed.

§106. The (e) is as usual long in monosyllabic words but owing to reason of accent in polysyllabic words, its quantity is reduced, e.g.

jēth but jēthaut; dēkh but dēkhaūkhī; khēt but khētwarī, dēs but dēsāntar.

In Khaṛibōlī, there is no short ē. Therefore *e* > *i* in Kh. Bōlī, e.g.

bēṭī, daughter; but biṭiyā, daughter; dēkhanā, to see; but dikhānā, to show.

ō, ō initial and in initial syllables

§107. OIA and MIA *ō*, *ō* remain in Bhojpuri before one consonant but there is usual shortening through reason of accent, e.g.

kōsā (*koṣa*-), a stone-pot; gōrū (*gorūpa*), cattle; ghōḍā (*ghōḷa*-), horse; kōrā (*koṛa*), lap; gōsālī (*gosvāmin*), saint; gōhū (*godhūma*), wheat; kōn (*koṇa*), corner; √pōs- (√*poṣaya*-), to rear up; thōr (*stoka*+*ḍa*), little; kōlī (*kokila*), cuckoo; jōī (*yojitā*) (Turner), wife.

§108. On account of accent *ō* > (ō) in Bhojpuri, e.g.

ghōrā but ghōrmūhā, horse-mouthed; gōhū but gōhūā, wheatish.

§109. OIA and MIA *ō*, *ō* before two or more consonants remain, e.g.

gōṛ (MIA *goḍḍa*), foot; ṭh (*oṣṭha*), lip; gōṭh (*goṣṭha*), assembly; dōm (*domba*) a low caste; bōī (MIA *bolā*), tune; gōt (*gotra*), kinsmanship; deśī gōṛ (MIA *goṇḍa*), a non-Aryan tribe; gōphā (MIA *goppa*), cave, cf. *gumphā*; jōtā (*yoktra*-), yoke; ḍhōī (MIA *ḍholla*), drum; pōthā (MIA *poṭṭha*), book.

§110. On account of accent, *ō* > *ō*, e.g. gōṛ, a caste, but gōṛait, watchman; dōm, a caste, but dōmāhāujī, noise by *dome*.

§111. In MIA there has been a good deal of interchange between 'i' and 'e' and between 'u' and 'o' before double consonants: generally, it is the opener sound, i.e. 'e' and 'o' which prevailed. Bhojpuri shows the effects of this kind of MIA change, e.g.

OIA *chidra* = MIA *chidda* > *chedda* > Bhoj. *chēd*, hole; OIA of deśī origin *tinta* > MIA **lenta* > OB *tentalī* (as in *tintidī*) > M.B. *tētul*, Bhoj. *tētul*, tamarind; *puṣhara* > *pokkhara* Bhoj. *pōkharā*, *pōkharī*, pond, etc., *munḍa* > **monḍa* > *mōṛ*, head of the street, possibly connected with deśī root *muṛ*, to twist or turn.

* *gr̥spa* > *gōccha* > *gōch*, whisker.

* *pusla-* > *pōṭṭha-* > Bhoj. *pōṭhī*, book.

CHAPTER IV

VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS

§112. 'Elision of vowels in the middle of words through absence of stress occurs sporadically in the earlier forms of I.A., e.g. *svārṇa* > *svarna*, gold.' (ODBL., §167.)

When old Bhojpuri started like other NIA languages, interior vowels, it may be presumed, were fully pronounced. But as in most other NIA, through absence of stress, unstressed vowels in the proximity of stressed ones, which were not vowels in contact, inclined to be dropped off. In Bhojpuri, interior syllables cannot be said to have been wholly elided as is the case in Bengālī. In Bhojpuri there is not the dimetric habit which characterizes Bengālī as noted by Dr. Chatterji (ODBL., §167). Thus *pāgal*, mad, is a word of two syllables in modern Bengālī and *pāgal*+fem. affix *i* = *pāgilī*, a word also of two syllables. But in Bhojpuri it will be *pāgal* and *pāgalī*. But Kh. Bōlī in similar cases dropped the interior consonant entirely and in a number of words and forms in Bhojpuri, where the interior vowel is absent, we have to assume Hindī influence.

After the loss of a final vowel, interior vowels in three-syllable words were not disturbed, e.g. *kalam*, pen, *baradh*, ox, etc., but when the word got an extension by an addition of a suffix, the interior vowel was weakened and dropped in many cases. In long words of four and more syllables, particularly compounds, an unaccented interior vowel which generally in a compound is in the last syllable, the first element is similarly dropped off if that first element does not end in a long vowel, e.g.

dharṇā < *dharāṇa*-, sit-down strike; *kalmī* < **kalambika*, graft; *ṭakāsār* < *ṭanka-sālā*, mint; *badhṇā* < *vardhana*-, water-jug; *pasārī* < **paṇḍārī* < *paṇyaśālīka*, grocer; *naharṇī* < **naha-haraṇīā* < *nakha-haraṇīkā*, an instrument for cutting nails; *māyṇā* < *madana*-, a kind of bird; *chākṇā* < **chak-kaḍa*-, *ṣakaḍa*, a kind of bullock-cart; *arāṭis* < *aṣṭa-trimśat*, thirty-eight; *sarāṣathi* < *sapta-ṣaṣṭi*, sixty-seven, etc.

§113. OIA, MIA *-ā-*; weakening or loss in Bhojpuri, e.g.

ākhrā < *akṣa-vāṭa*-, the wrestling ground; *tāmṛā* < *tāmra*+*pāṭṭa*, a vessel of copper; *rakhāwār* < *rakṣā-pāla*, keeper; *baṇḍālā* < *baṇḍāl*-, Bengālī; *goplā* < *gōpāla*, a name; *ghōṛāwā* < *ghōṭaka*-, horse.

§114. Loss of OIA, MIA *-ī-*, *-i-*.

Like Bengālī *-ī-* vowel in the interior of the word is reduced to *ā* as it is found in old documents and poems in Bhojpuri. In the dialect of Balliā *-ī-* is still preserved. But in the dialect of Banāras and Āzamgarh it has dropped off and in other places it is on the way to elision, e.g.

gharnī < *gṛhīnī*, wife; *harnā* < *hariṇa*, deer; *kuṇī* < *kuṇṇī*, a bad woman; sts. *sarso* < *sarisava*, mustard; *khantā* < *khanitra*, an instrument for digging earth; *pantā* < *pānī*+*itā*-, the boiled rice kept in water for the use of next day.

§115. Loss of *-u-* is not so common in Bhojpuri, e.g.

kurmī < *kuṭumbin*, a caste.

N.B.—Loss of *-e-* *-o-* does not occur in Bhojpuri.

CHAPTER V

RETENTION OF INTERIOR VOWELS

§116. Interior vowels remain in Bhojpuri when they occur (through loss of original MIA or old Bhojpuri final vowel) in the last syllable of word and are closed by a consonant.

-a-

ācāra (*añcala*), the skirt of a woman; **ujāra** (*ujjala*), white; **utāra** (*uttara*), answer; **kāwāla** (*kamala*), lotus; **kusāla** (*kuśala*), well; **kēwāra** (*kēvaṛa*, *kēvarta*), a caste; **cāwāra** (*camara*); **carāra** (*carāra*), foot; **cannāra** (*candana*), sandal; **jīāra** (*jivana*), life; **tātāla** (*tapta-la*), hot; **dewāra** (*dēvra*), younger brother of husband; **pājāra** (*pañjara*); **pitāra** or **pitāla** (*pittala* < *pita-la*), brass; **phōra** (*sphoṭana*); **sāvāra** (*śrāvāna*), the name of a month.

§117. **ā** = MIA -ā-, -ā-.

anāra (*annāja*, *annādyā*), grain; **egāraha** (*ēkādaśa*), eleven; **karāra** (*kaṭāha*), a big frying pan; **kapāsi** (*karpāsa*), cotton; **kīyāri** (cf. Beng. *kēy.iri* < *kēdārikā*), flower-beds; **guāra** (*gōpāla*-), a caste; **kōhāra** (*kumbhākāra*), potter; **camāra** (*carmakāra*), shoe-maker; **chināra** (*chinna-nāla*), a man of bad character; **nihāi** (*nidhāpikā*), unvil; **nihār** (cf. MB *nihāl* < *nibhālaya*-), to observe; **nisāra** (cf. MB *nisāna* < *nihsvāna*), music; **baṅ(g)ālī** (*vaṅgālīka*); **bakhāra** (*vyākhyāna*), description; **bihāra** (*vibhāna*), morning; **masāra** (*śmaśāna*), burning ground; **siyāra** (*śyāla*), jackal; **sohāra** (*sāubhāgya*), good fortune, etc.

§118. **-ī-**

ahthīra (*sthira*), firm; **ahīra** (*dhīra*), a caste; **kahāni** (*kathanikā*), story; **gahīra** (*gabhīra*), deep; **gharīyāra** or **gharīlāra** (*ghaṭipāla*-); **gābhini**, (*garbhī*; *ī*), pregnant; **cālī** (*calvārimśat*), forty; **tīs** (*triṃśat*), thirty; **dahīra**, **dāhīra**, also sts. *dakkhīra* (< Pk. *dāhīra* < Sk. *dakṣiṇa*), right (opp. to left); **nātīni** (* *naptrini*), grand-daughter; **bahīra** (*badhira*), deaf; **baniyā** (*vaṇīka*-), the merchant caste; **mandīra** (*mandira*), temple.

§119. **-ū-**

ākusi (*añkuśa*-), a hook; **kapūra** (*karpūra*), camphor; **kukur** (Pk. *kukura* < Sk. *kurkur*-), dog; **khajūra** (*khajūra*), the date tree; **garuṛa** (*garuḍa*), a bird; **caṭuk** (*catuṣka*), increased by four; sts. **niṭhur** (*niṣṭhura*), hard-hearted; **pāhūra** (*prāghūrṇa*), a guest; **phāgun** (*phālguṇa*), the name of a month; **bhasura** (*bhrātṛ + śvaśura*), elder brother-in-law; **maūra** (*mukuta*), a diadem; **mānusa** (*manuṣya*), man; **rāut** (*rāja-putra*); **rāūra** (*rāja-kula*), your honour; **senura** (*sindūra*), vermilion; **sasura** (*śvaśura*), father-in-law.

§120. **-ē-** from various sources in OIA (*ē*, *ṛj*, etc.), e.g.

ahēri (*ākhēṛīka*), hunter; **upadēra** (*upadēśa*), teachings; **ganēra** (*gaṇēśa*), a name; **mahādēw** (*mahādēva*), Śiva; **pareṛa** (*prāra*), ghost, etc.

§121. **-ō-**

Ts. **aghōri** (*aghōra*-), a worshipper of Śiva; **bichōha** (*vikṣōbha*), separation, etc.

CHAPTER VI

VOWELS IN CONTACT

§122. The disappearance of OIA intervocalic stops left a large number of MIA vowels in contact. For the most part these maintained a separate existence into the Apabhraṃśa period.

Theoretically Sanskrit does not allow any hiatus—i.e. does not allow two vowels to occur side by side, there will always be *sandhi*. This may be looked upon only as a grammarian's notion which was rigorously maintained in the written language. We may be quite sure that in OIA (Vedic) vowels followed each other in speech as much as in any other language: in the oldest period of the language at any rate, they said *túam hi agnāḥ* rather than *tucm-hyagnē*. In the second MIA when intervocalic consonants were dropped, naturally vowels followed one another and the language could have words like *hīaa*, *rasia*, *caīa*, etc. (= *hṛdaya*, *rasika*, *cakīa*). These vowels generally (at least for a time) were retained as separate ones, and were not contracted by assimilation. In some cases, however, the contraction was undoubtedly early, e.g. *mora* < *mayūra*.

§123. In late MIA and early NIA there was a three-fold treatment of the OIA vowels brought into entire or partial contact (i.e. contact with intervening -*ŷ*-, -*ṡ*- glide) by elision of stops (ODBL, §169). The three different kinds of treatment in MIA languages are:—

- (a) They were turned into diphthongs.
- (b) They were contracted into a single vowel.
- (c) They were retained as separate vowels by the insertion of a euphonic -*ŷ*- or -*ṡ*-.

§124. When the consonant dropped off, its place was taken by a glide sound, a -*ŷ*- or -*ṡ*- which took the place of the open modification (i.e. spirantized form) of the original consonant about to disappear. This glide -*ŷ*-, -*ṡ*- has in many cases come down to NIA. But it was also in many other cases dropped itself, so that no trace of the original consonant replaced by the glide remained. Subsequently there could be contraction into a single vowel of two 'udvṛtta vowels' thus brought together.

§125. It is likely that diphthongization of contact vowels was an earlier process of combinative vowel change. In 'Aśokan inscription' of the third century, the diphthong *gi* is found in forms like *thāira* < *sthavira*, *trajāda* < *trayodāśa* where -*ŷ*- and -*ṡ*- no longer remained. But we find in 'Khārvela inscription' a form like *cavutha* < *caturtha* and *avayesi* < *avādesi* = *avādayat* at Bhārhut.

§126. In Jain Prākṛit they recognize this -*ŷ*- glide replacing a consonant as -*y*- śruti, although they do not note a similar -*ṡ*- śruti—this Jain tradition of -*y*- śruti goes back to centuries immediately before Christ when these glides first came in words like *kaḍala*, *baḍara* which first became **kaḍala* **baḍara* > *kayala* **kaḍala* **baḍara* or **baṭara* (with *ḍ* inducing *ṡ*), *kaṭla baṭra*, *baṭra* > Hindi and Bhoj. *kēḷā*, *bēr*; Beng. *kaḷā*, dialectical Bengālī *bōr*.

§127. In early Bhojpuri like Bengālī and Assamese, it may be assumed, there must have been diphthongization as the principal mode of contraction of contact vowels. But unlike Bengālī and Assamese, there has not been much contraction of these vowels which are generally kept separate in the language. So that there are two treatments of these in Bhojpuri, viz.

- (a) Where vowels are kept separate from each other by euphonic glides -y-, -w-.
- (b) Where there is no euphonic glide audible; these may become diphthongized and only in a few instances further contraction of these diphthongs happen.

In those cases, where the second element of the 'udvṛtta' group is i and u and if in such a case the first element of the group receives stress, the second element i u becomes weakened in modern Bhojpuri and we get what are virtually diphthongs ay, aw and in the dialect of Banāras, which, it must be said, prefers a more lax pronunciation, ay and aw are found, e.g. O. Bh. gāila, baiṭhala > in the dialect of Balliā gail, baiṭhal but in Banāras gail, baiṭhal or gayl, bayṭhal. So Balliā cāur, Banāras cāwar.

§128. The Sk. diphthongs ai and au still retain the i and u elements intact and in the phonetic feelings of the standard Bhojpuri speakers these are never contracted sounds or monothongs such as, for example, in western Hindī in which ai and au approach the English sound of 'a' in 'hat' and 'man' and the 'aw' in 'law' respectively. The Bhojpuri value being a+i and a+u according to the rhythm of the speech: in other words, Sk. ai and au are either split up into a-i, a-u or are retained as diphthongs ai and au.

§129. The vowel group ai, au in both ts. and tbs., however, can be contracted into diphthongal sounds aj, au if the word takes a vowel affix at the end and words with ai au no longer end in a consonant, e.g. u badmās 'maün' hōke maünibābā banal bā, that scoundrel has taken up the vow of silence and has become a revered saint who does not speak (as the sign of his spiritual progress); 'cait' mē lōg 'caitā' gāwelā, in the month of 'Caitra' people sing 'caitā' song.

§130. We find 'y' and 'w' glides in a number of Bhojpuri words. 'y' glides in Bhojpuri:—

nariyār (nārikela), cocoanut; siyār (śṛgāla), jackal; kiyyāri (kēdā-rikā), flower beds; diyā (dība < dīpa), lamp; kāyār (kālara), coward; rāy (rāj), a title; <jiyē (jivati), lives; bāyī (vāta-), wind disease; māyī (mātā), mother; piyāri (priya-kārikā), dear; hiyā (hṛdaya), heart; khayār (khadira), catechu; biyā (bijā-), seed.

§131. w glides in Bhojpuri:—

sūwar (sūkara), hog; kewarā (keta-+ḍa-), a kind of flower; chāwāni (chādanikā), a place for temporary abode; dhūwā (dhūma-), smoke; kūwā (kūpa-), well; dhōwā (dhōā < dhūya), washed; sūwā cf. sui, Nepali 'siyo' < sūci. (* sūcaka), big needle; jūwā (dyuta-), gambling; rōwā (lomaka- or romaka-), hair; gūwā (guḍka-), nut; pūwā (pūpa-), a kind of sweet cake, etc.

§132. In a few words, we get the glide -h- also in Bhojpuri, e.g.

behulā = Skt. *vipulā*, the name of the heroine of the *Manasā* legend;
dhūhā < *dhruva*-.

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS IN CONTACT

§133. 'Contraction of "udvṛtta vowels" by assimilation is quite a common phenomenon in second and late MIA' (ODBL, §172) and Bhojpuri has inherited a number of these NIA contracted forms, e.g.

khāl (*khāai*, *khādai*, cf. OB. *khāi*); pākṣ (*pāṭikka*); anhār (*andhā-āra*, *andha-kāra*, cf. B. *ādhūrā*).

(i) The sound groups -aa-, -awa-, -aṽa- in the initial syllables > ō, e.g.

bhādō (*bhaddavaa*, *bhādrapada*-), a month; kānō (**kandaṭṭa*, *kad-dama*, *kardama*), mud; dānō (**dīnava*, *dānava*), demon.

(ii) The groups āā, āā, āā with intervening glide w y in late MIA became ā in Bhojpuri, e.g.

inār (*indrāgūra*), well; sts. upās (*upavāsa*), fast; anhār (*andha-kāra*), darkness; bhujāl (*bhuja-pāṭika*-), a dagger; gārās (*gaṇḍa-pāsa*), an instrument made of iron; kōṭhār (*koṭhīgārika*), store-keeper; juār (*dyuta-kārika*), gambler; barāt (*vara-yātrā*), marriage party.

A large number of disguised compounds in -ār come under this, e.g.

bhāḍār (*bhāḍāgūra*), store-house; kōhār (*kumbha-kāra*), potter; camār (*carma-kāra*), shoe-maker; lohār (*lāya-kāra*), blacksmith; sonār (*svarṇa-kāra*), goldsmith.

(iii) MIA ai > ē, the affix for the verb 3rd person (conditional) -ē (-ai, -ati). In script the two elements are written separately, but in actual pronunciation a diphthong exists, e.g.

dekhē (**dekhai*), (if he) sees; calē (*calai*), (if he) walks; parhē (*parhai*), (if he) reads.

(iv) ai > ū, the affix for the verb 3rd person (imperative):

calū (*calai*), go; dekhū (*dekhai*), see; karū (*karaū*), do; chārū (*chāḍḍahu*), cf. *caryā* 50 '*chāḍḍu*'.

(v) The late MIA groups ae > ai > ē:

tē (**taē* < *ivayā* + *-ena*), you; mē (**maē* < *mayā* + *-ena*), I.

The affix for the 3rd person (future):

karihē (*karihai* < *kariṣyati*), will do.

(vi) Groups in MIA ū, ū, ū, ū became i in Bhojpuri, e.g.

asī (**asī-i*, *asīti*), eighty; khāl (*khāi* + *-illa*, *-*khāia* + *-illa* < *khādita* + *-ila*-), to eat.

The 3rd person future verb-forms, e.g.

kari (**kari* < **karihi* < *kariṣyati*), will do; call (**cali* < **calihi* < *caliṣyati*), will go.

(vii) Late MIA *ia*, *ia* had twofold development in Bhojpuri, e.g.

(a) In initial syllables *ē*, *ē* or *ā* :

ētnā (*ētia* - < **iati* - < *iyat*), so much; *chēmā* (**chiamā* < **kṣyamā* = *kṣamā*), excuse; *ḍērḥ* (*diadḍha* < *dyardḍha*), one and a half; *bēthā* (**biathā*, *vyathā*), pain.

Modern Bhojpuri *bāthā*, pain. (This modern pronunciation looks like being a Bengāliism, cf. Bengālī pronunciation *bāthā*.)

(b) MIA final *iā* > *i*, e.g.

lāṭhī (**laṭṭhia*-, *laṭṭhikā*), stick; *māmī* (**mām-iki*), aunt; *rērī* (**ereṇḍiā*, < *eraṇḍika*), castor-oil seed; *aherī* (late Sk. *akheṭika*), hunter.

(viii) *ūū*, *ūū* (*ūū*, *ūū*) becomes *ū* in Bhojpuri, e.g.

dūnā (**duuṇa* - < *dviguna*-), twice; *bhūkhi* (**bhuukhi* < **bhuk-khā* + *ikā* < *bubhukṣā*), hunger.

(ix) MIA *ua*, *ūa* > *ū* in Bhojpuri, e.g.

gōrū (**gōrua*-, < *gōrūpa*), cattle; *bacharū* (**bacharua* - < *vaṣa-rūpa*-), calf; *gabharū* (*garbha-rūpa*), young; *meharārū* (*mahilā-rūpa*-), wife; *paṭharū* (**paṭṭha-rūa*-), calf of a buffalo.

(x) MIA *ēa* > *ē*, e.g.

chēnī (*chēṇiā* < *chedanikā*), chisel.

(xi) *ōa* > *ō*, e.g.

thōṛā (*stōka* + *-ḍa*), little.

TREATMENT OF OIA *r*

§134. The sonant *r* counted as a vowel in Sanskrit grammar disappears in Pk. as in Pālī. The Bengālī and Hindi (Nāgarī) alphabets possess *r* as a letter of the alphabet and its common pronunciation is *ri*. In Bhojpuri documents *r* is written as *ri* because in Kaithī character, in which these documents have been written, there is no *ṛ*. This 'ri' value for *r* is found all over northern India, but in the south including the Oṛiyā and Marāṭhī tracts, the pronunciation is 'ru'.

What was the exact pronunciation of *r* in OIA is very difficult to say, but it is certain that *r* was not pronounced as 'ri' as it is nowadays. It was a sonant fricative used as a vowel and its pronunciation appears to have been the same as the sonant *r* in some Slavonic languages, e.g. 'srb'.

The Iranian and the old Persian preserved *r* without any vowel. But in Avestan, at least in orthography, *r* = *oro*. This last type of form, also obtained possibly dialectically in Indo-Aryan, witnesses the analysis of *r* in some Prātibhāṣyas as being $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā *ā* + $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā *r* + $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā *ā*, i.e. as 'ara'. Just before the establishment of MIA, OIA *r* as vowel took up the prop. of another vowel sound *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* or *o* and in MIA normally it is this vowel which prevailed and *r* was assimilated or was dropped. (In a few cases the *r* was retained, however, *irubbedā* = *ṛgveda*, *risabha* besides *usabha*, etc.)

Dr. Bloch after an examination of the Aśokan inscriptions and the literary languages on this decides that *r* developed in the south-west as *a* and in the north and east as *i* and *u* (Bloch: §30; Turner: Gujrātī Phonology, §12).

But owing to the great intermingling of dialects, it cannot be definitely said which of the above threefold treatments of *r* is a characteristic vowel of a particular dialect area in modern times. In the instances given below, all the threefold treatments are illustrated in modern Bhojpuri:

(i) OIA -*r*- > -*a*- in MIA. In some cases -*a*- > -*ā*- in NIA through compensatory lengthening, e.g.

kacaharī (*kṛtya-grha*), court; Kānhā (*Kṛṣṇa*-), Lord Krishna; nāc (*nṛtya*), dance; māṭī (*mṛttik*-), earth; bār (*vṛta*-), a fig tree; basahā (*vṛṣabha*, *vasaha*-), a bull; karā (*kaṣa*- < *kṛta*).

(ii) *r* > MIA -*i*- > NIA -*i*-, but sometimes *i* also either through compensatory lengthening or through stress, e.g.

ghīw (*ghṛta*), ghee; ghīn (*ghṛnā*), contempt; pīṭhi (*prṣṭha*), back; bichī (*vṛścika*-), scorpion; nāṭī (*napṭika*), grandson; sīgī (*śṛṅga*), horn; sīyār (*śṛgāla*), jackal; gīdh (*gṛddha*), vulture; sīkar (*śṛṅka*-), chains.

(iii) -*r*- > MIA -*u*- > NIA -*u*-, but sometimes *ū* also either through compensatory lengthening or through stress, e.g.

būrh (*vṛddha*), an old man; rūkh (**vrukṣh* < (*vṛkṣa*), tree; sune (*śṛṇoti*), hears; muwal (*mṛta-alla*), to die.

NASALIZATION OF VOWELS IN MIA AND NIA

(I) Final Anusvāra

§135. OIA anusvāra and final -*m* both became anusvāra in MIA. In Apabhramśa -*m* became a mere nasalization of the preceding vowel. This final nasalization still survives in some of the NIA languages like Gujrātī and Marāṭhī but it does not feature in Bhojpuri. It is also absent in its Māgadhan sister Bengālī.

OIA anusvāra was just a nasal continuation of a preceding vowel so that *ṁ* was really *aṁ*, *ṛṁ* was *iṛ*. In MIA this nasal continuation developed into a full nasal sound a *ṅ* (ṅ), a *ṁ* (m) or a *ṇ* (n).

In OIA the anusvāra changed to a class nasal, when it preceded a stop or aspirate: anusvāra could occur only before *y*, *r*, *l*, *w*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and in Vedic such anusvāra had a special pronunciation which is recognized in Vedic by a special letter *ṛ̥* or (*ṝ*). The Prākṛit pronunciations of anusvāra perhaps already started in OIA. In modern India, anusvāra is pronounced as *ṅ* (ṅ) in Bengālī, *ṇ* (n) in northern India generally and *ṁ* (m) in south India. Before *h* and *w* which changed to *b*, anusvāra became generally *ṇ* and *m* respectively, (e.g.) Bhoj. sts. *siṅh* (सिंह) romanized as 'singh', and *samād* for *sammād* = *sambād* = Sk. *saṁvāda*. Moreover in Bhojpuri there is no survival of an earlier pronunciation of anusvāra like the pronunciation of the equivalent of Sanskrit *vaṁśa*, in the Oṛiyā tbs. *bāṁśa* as quoted by Dr. Chatterji. (ODBL, §175).

(II) Class Nasals and Interior Anusvāra of MIA

MIA nasals inherited from OIA

§136. Class nasals before stops and aspirates have become a nasalization of preceding vowel in standard Bengālī and Hindi, e.g. *paṅka* > *pāṅk*,

mud; *danta* > *dānt*, teeth. Calcutta Bengālī *āb* = *amba* = *āmra*, mango; Hindi *ābā*, etc. But in Bhojpuri there has been an assimilation of the following stop or aspirate with the preceding nasal when this stop or aspirate was a voiced one. This has been also the case with the Panjābī and it is partly the case for Bengālī. Dr. Chatterji has shown how before the change of the class nasal into a mere nasalization of a vowel there was a stage of a reduced nasal, e.g.

danta > *dānta* > *dānta* > *dānt*, teeth. Similarly *candra* > *cānda* > *cāda* > *cād*, moon.

In Bhojpuri the reduced nasal before a voiced stop or aspirate asserted itself, so to say, and assimilated to it the following consonant so that :

cānda > *cānna* > *cān*, moon, but in *danta* = *dānt* where the 't' remains.

As Bhojpuri vowels like Bengālī are more or less nasalized when preceded or followed by a nasal, the anusvāra becomes superfluous and is often not used in writing.

§137. Below are given instances of nasalization of vowels in Bhojpuri through class nasals and anusvāra occurring with consonants in OIA.

(i) Unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals: the vowel is nasalized (after being lengthened) and the stop or the aspirate remains. Unlike dialectical Bengālī and Oriyā, there is no trace in any Bhojpuri dialect of a stage of reduced nasal before complete nasalization, e.g.

pākṣ (*paṅka*), mud; *dātṣ* (*danta*), teeth; *gāṭhṣ* (*grantha*-), knot; *ākṣ* (*aṅka*), number; *pācṣ* (*pañca*), fine; *mācṣ* (*mañca*), raised platform; *pāṭi* (*paṅkti*), row, line; *kāpṣ* ($\sqrt{\text{kāmp}}$ -), to tremble; *ākusṣ* (*aṅkuśa*), control; *tāṭi* (*tantu*+*tantrī*), string; *kāṭharī* (*kantha*-), a rag; *lāph* (*lampḥ*), jump; *khāṭṛā* (*khaṇḍa*), piece.

(ii) Class nasals with voiced stops and aspirates assimilated the latter to itself excepting in the case of palatals and cerebrals. So long as the double consonant was heard, the preceding vowel was short although long by derivation or origin, e.g.

(a) With guttural voiced stops and aspirates :

aṅgana > **aṅgana* > **āṅṅana* > *āṅan*, compound; *jaṅghā* > **jāṅgha* > **jāṅṅha* > *jāṅh*, thigh.

(b) With dental voiced stops and aspirates :

cān (*canda*, *candra*), moon; *inār* (*indrāgāra*), well; *būnī* (*bindu*), drop; *senur* (*sindūra*), vermilion; *sūnar* (**sun-nara*, *sundara*), beautiful; *ānhī* (*andhikā*), storm; *kānh* (*skandha*), shoulder; *ānhar* (*andha*-), blind; *bānh* (*bandha*), embankment; *sōnh* (*sugandha*), fragrance.

(c) With labial stops and aspirates :

lām (*lamba*), straight, long; *kadam* (*kadamba*), a plant; *cūm* (*cumba*), kiss; *kamarā* (*kambala*-), blanket; *semi* (*śimbi*-), a kind of vegetable; *kumhār* (recently *kōhār*) (*kumbhākāra*), potter; *samhār* (*sambhāra*), support; *brāhamāṣa* > **bāmbhāṣa* > *bāmhan* also *babbhāṣa* which gave *bābhan*; *ām* (*āmra*), mango; *tāmā* (*tāmra*), copper

§138. Examples showing retention of voiced palatal and cerebral stops and aspirates :—

ājuri (*añjali*), the open hands placed side by side and slightly hollowed; gājā < (*gañja*, cf. Sk. *grñjah*), a kind of drug for smoking; pijarā (*piñjara*-), cage; pājar (*pañjara*), side; sājh (MIA *sañjhā*), evening; bājh (MIA *vañjha*-), barren; pāre (*pāṇḍeya*), a class of Brāhman; sāṛh (*śaṇḍa*), bull; māṛ (*maṇḍa*), starch; rār (*raṇḍa*), widow; khārhar (*khaṇḍagṛha*), dilapidated house; bhārār (*bhāṇḍ-āgāra*), store.

§139. Where two nasals of MIA are reduced to one, there is nasalization of the vowel (except such as comes in through its being followed by a nasal and an ā is changed to ā, e.g.

āṇṛ (*aṇṇa, anya*), another; kāṇ (*kaṇṇa, karṇa*), ear; cām (*camma, carma*), leather.

§140. Sibilants with preceding 'anusvāra' remain with the 'anusvāra' nasalizing the preceding vowel, e.g.

kāsā (*kāmsya*-), bell-metal; bās (*vaṁśa*), bamboo; mās (*māṁśa*), meat; dās (*daṁśa*), a kind of mosquito.

§141. OIA 'anusvāra' following the high vowel 'i' is lost in bis (*vimśati*), cf. Beng. *bis*, twenty; bāis (*dvāvimśati*), twenty-two; tīs (*trīṁśat*), cf. -tīs (as in *cautīs*, the common Bengālī word *trīs, tiris* is a sta.), thirty.

SPONTANEOUS NASALIZATION

§142. There are cases in NIA in which tbb. words show nasalization where there is no nasal in the corresponding OIA form, e.g. sāp (*sarpa*), cf. Hindi *sāp*, snake; ūṭ (*uṣṭra*), camel. This phenomenon has been termed as 'Spontaneous Nasalization'. This tendency is found in MIA in which optionally, it would appear, a double consonant could become a nasal+consonant, e.g. *jalpātī* > *jampai* in place of **jappai*, *dassan*, *dāsana*, etc.

NIA words showing this kind of nasalization are unquestionably based on MIA forms which developed it.

Different explanations of this phenomenon have been suggested. Dr. Bloch and Dr. Turner regard this nasalization as due to the length of the vowel which according to Dr. Bloch spontaneously develops a nasal resonance. Differing from this view Grierson says that 'such spontaneous nasalization could occur only if it was introduced in the present stage of development of the MIA vernaculars in which the vowel would become long. But this is not the case, for the nasal was introduced not later than the Prākṛit stage and has nothing to do with the length of vowel'.

Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that this kind of nasalization is due to dialectical variation: as in modern times with certain languages and dialects in MIA also certain local forms of speech developed a tendency for pronunciation with the uvula lowered so that there was accompanying nasalization and some of these nasalized forms, dialectical in origin, passed on to the standard forms of the speech. The reverse situation was present in other dialects and that is why we have a loss of original nasal, e.g. OIA *mahiṣa* = *mahiṁsa* = **mhaḥiṁsa* > *bhaiṣ* but **viṁśa* = *bis*.

So far as NIA is concerned, these forms with spontaneous nasalization are of the same category as those which show original OIA or historical

nasalization, being equally inherited from MIA. All NIA do not entirely agree in details, although all share in the results of this general principle or preference of MIA: words with spontaneous nasalization occur in one NIA speech, say, western Hindi, Bhojpuri but are absent in another, say, Bengali, Gujrati and vice versa: e.g. Bengali and Gujrati have *sāp* but W.H. and Bhoj. *sāp*.

Examples in Bhojpuri

- (i) Nasalization followed by one consonant:—

sāsṣ (*śvāsa*), breath; *bāhi* (*bāhu*), arm; *pāwṣ* (*pādu*), foot; $\sqrt{hās}$ (\sqrt{has}), to laugh; *phāsṣ* (**phāmsa* < *pāṣa*), smare.

- (ii) Nasalization followed by two consonants:—

ākhi (**an̄khi*, *akkhi* = *akṣi*), eye; *āc* (*añci*, *acci* = *arciṣ*), flame; *āṭhi* (*aṇṭhi*, *aṭhi* = *asthi*), stone of fruit; *īṭ* (**iṇṭa*), *iṭa* < **iṭha* = *iṣṭa*), brick; *ūcṣ* (**uñca*, *ucca*), high; *ūṭṣ* (**uṇṭa*, *utta*), < **uṭha* = *uṣṭra*), camel; *kākari* (**kam̄kōḍia*, *kakkōḍiā* = *karkōṭikī*), cucumber; *kākhṣ* (**kam̄kha*, *kakkha* = *kakṣa*), arm-pit; *ghās-* ($\sqrt{ghṛṣ-}$, *ghṛṣṭa*), to rub; *kāc* (**kañca*, *kacca*, *kāca*), glass; $\sqrt{cāch-}$, to smooth with an adze (**cañch-* $\sqrt{tvakṣ}$); *chāh* (**chāyā*, *chūyā*), shadow; *pākhi* (*paṣa-*), feather; *phāk* (**pham̄kia* < **phakka*, N.D., cf. *phakkikā-*), bit; *bāk* (*vañka*, *vakka-*, *vakra*), a curved ornament; *bēt* (**venta*, *vetta*, *vetra*), cane; *ḍhīṭh* (*dhiṭha*, *dḥṛṣṭa*), insolent; *sāp* (*sarpa*), snake; $\sqrt{māḡ-}$ (*mārgati* < $\sqrt{mṛḡ}$, to seek), to ask for; $\sqrt{māḡ-}$ (*mārjati* < *mṛj*), to cleanse.

§143. Though there is the development of the nasal in non-nasal compounds in MIA and notably in NIA, there are instances of the dropping of the nasal even in MIA and this has continued down to NIA, cf. *MIA visa* (OIA *viṃśati*); *tisa* (*triṃśati*); *siha* (*siṃha*).

Examples from Bhojpuri are:

kichu (cf. *kiñcid*), something; *chaṭāk*, cf. Beng. *chaṭīk*, Hindi *chaṭāk* (**ṣaṭ-ṭaṅka*); *pālṣki* (**pallaṅkia*, *paryāṅkikā*); *bhītar* (*abhyantara*), interior; $\sqrt{bhiḡ}$ (*abhyañj-*), to drench; *dārhi* (*dāṭhikā*, *dāḍhia* < *dādhikā*, cf. *daṃṣṭrikā*), beard.

Nasalization through intervocal -m- and -n-

§144. The tendency to elide single intervocal stops of OIA continued till late MIA. In Apabhramśa, single intervocal -m- became *ṃ*. This feature is found in the present-day Bhojpuri as well, e.g.

kāṃwal (*kamala*), lotus; *kūṃwār* (*kumāra*), an unmarried boy; *sāṃwār* (*śyāmala*), blackish; *bhāṃwārā* (*bhramara*), black bee; *awārā* (*āmalaka*), a kind of fruit; *cāṃwār* (*cāmaru*); *bhuṃhār* (*bhūmihāra*), a caste.

CHAPTER VII

INTRUSIVE VOWELS

ANAPTYXIS OR VIPRAKARṢA

§145. This is a phenomenon by which a vowel is often inserted between a combination of sounds which are difficult to pronounce. This phenomenon is found in all periods of IA. In Vedic grammar this is known as 'svarabhakti' and in Prākṛit as 'viprakarṣa'. In MIA there were a number of Sanskrit borrowings which show 'viprakarṣa'. A few of these have been inherited by Bhojpuri also, e.g.

pawānār (**paduma-nīla*, *paduma-nīla*, *padma-nīla*), the lotus stalk ;
sariso (**sarisava*, *sarṣapa*), mustard ; āraṣī < **darasiā* < *ādar-
śikā*, mirror.

Unlike Bengālī, Bhojpuri shows great partiality for the use of words simplified by anaptyxis.

Examples of 'viprakarṣa' in Bhojpuri :—

(i) -a- sts. dharam (*dharma*), religion ; jatan (*yatna*), efforts ; karam (*karma*), action ; garabh (*garbha*), womb ; janam (*janma*), birth ; jantar (*yantra*), machine ; takar (*takra*), butter-milk ; nachattar (*nakṣatra*), stars ; parab (*parva*), auspicious day ; barat (*vrata*), fast ; bajar (*vajra*), thunder ; bajarāṅga (*vajrāṅga*), a name of Hanumāna who is supposed to be very strong and stout ; bharam (*bhrama*), error ; mantar (*mantra*), sacred speech ; ratan (*ratna*), jewel ; sarādh (*śrādha*), a ceremony in honour of dead ; sapan (*svapna*), dream.

The anaptyxis is found in the foreign loan words also, e.g.

kudarati (*qudrat*), nature ; ekarār (*iqār*), agreement ; garam (*garma*), hot ; carabi (*carbī*), fat ; nagad (*naqd*), cash ; takath (*takht*), throne ; takarār (*takrār*), quarrel ; bakhat (*waqt*), time ; bakas (box) (Eng.) ; farām (tram) (Eng.).

(ii) -i-, e.g.

baris (*varṣa*), year ; sts. sirimān (*śrīmāna*), a rich man ; kiriyā (*kriyā*) action ; tiriyā (*stri-*), woman ; sariso (*sarṣapa*), mustard ; sirināmā (*śrīnāma*), name written on the envelope.

Loan words :—

akili (ʕaql), intellect ; jikiri (*zikra*), mention ; phikiri (*phiqra*), anxiety ; jabit (*ḍabī*), control.

(iii) -u-, as in duwār (*dvāra*), door ; padum (*padma*), lotus ; mukuti (*mukti*), salvation ; murukh (*mūrkhā*), fool ; sukul (*śukla*), a sub-caste among Brāhman ; sumiran (*smaraṇa*), repetition of name ; lubudh (*lubdhā*), to be attracted, cf. M. Beng. *lubudhā*.

PROTHESIS OF VOWELS

§146. The prothetic vowel was very rare in MIA and excepting Pālī: *īṭhī* < **īstri* < *stri* (Pischal, §151) and *umḥayati* < **umayate* =

smayate (ODBL, §183) other examples are difficult to find. In modern Bhojpuri, the prothetic vowel is noticeable in a number of Tatsama words. They generally arise in conjuncts of a sibilant + k, t, n, l, etc., e.g.

astuti (*stuti*), prayer; asthān (*sthāna*), place; asnān (*snāna*), bath;
ihitirī (*istirī, strī*), woman; islok (*śloka*), couplet.

Prothesis before a single consonant is rare, the only example being uprohit < *purohit*, priest which is also found in Awadhī.

The prothesis is found in foreign words also, e.g.

isṭesan (*station*); iskūl (*school*); iṣṭām (*stamp*).

EPENTHESIS

§147. Epenthesis is the anticipation of an -i- or -u- before the consonant. The phenomenon is found in the Rīgveda and in considerable numbers in the Prākṛit dialects. In standard Gujrātī, there is epenthesis in the group vy, e.g.

āvyo > āvīyo (Gujrātī Phonology, §31).

In Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa epenthesis does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in Bihārī; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Māgadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in the Māgadhan dialects or languages before the NIA period (ODBL, §184).

In the standard Bhojpuri the following examples of epenthesis are found:—

haītā (**hāitiā, hatyā*), murder; raīchā (**raīchīā, raksā*), safety;
aīgā (**agiā, agyā, ājñā*), order; joīnī (**joinī, yonī*), birth;
kaīlān (**kaliān, kalyāṇa*), propitious.

In the Nagpuriā or Sadānī dialect of Bhojpuri, we also find epenthesis, e.g.

suwair < **sūairī* < *suari* < *śūkari*, swine.

The conjunctive participle deīkh, kaīr for dekhi and kari also show epenthetic i in Sadānī.

CHAPTER VIII

SOURCES OF VOWELS IN BHOJPURI

§148. Modern Bhojpuri *a* comes from—

(i) OIA *a* as in—

gahir (*gabhira*), deep; sts. *pahar* (*prahara*), an eighth part of the day; *nachattar* (*nakṣatra*), star; *bahinī* (*bhaginī*), sister.

(ii) OIA *ā* through absence of stress as in—

banārsī (*vārānasiya*), pertaining to the city of Banāras; *awārā* (*āmalaka*), a kind of fruit; sts. *acaraḥ* (*āścarya*), wonderful; sts. *rajput* (*rājaputra*), Rājput; *ahīr* (*ābhira*), cow-keeper (a caste).

(iii) OIA *u* as in—

maṭir (*mukuta*), crown.

(iv) OIA *ṛ* as in—

pitar (*pitṛ*-), forefathers; *ghar* (*grha*), home, house; *baṛ* (*vaṭa*, *vṛta*), banyan tree.

(v) OIA *e* as in—

nariar (*nārikela*), cocoanut.

(vi) OIA *o* as in—

sahijan (*sobhāñjana*-), a kind of tree.

(vii) By anaptyxis as in—

jatan (*yatna*), care, effort; *ratan* (*ratna*), gem; *jantar* (*yantra*), machine, implement; *mantar* (*mantra*), incantation; *gotar* (*gotra*), lineage.

§149. Bhojpuri *ā* comes from—

(i) OIA *ā* as in—

lilār (*lalāṭa*), forehead; *phāgun* (*phālguna*), the name of a month.

(ii) OIA *a* through initial stress—

āwaru (*apara*-), other, another.

(iii) OIA *a* before conjunct consonants—

ādhā (*ardha*-), a half; *kām* (*karma*), deed; *cām* (*carma*), skin; *ghām* (*gharma*), heat of the sun; *āk* (*aṅka*), number; *bhāt* (*bhakta*), boiled rice; *ān* (*anya*), another.

(iv) OIA *ṛ* before two consonants—

māṭi (*mṛtīkā*), earth.

(v) MIA a + ā—

anhār (OIA *andhakāra* > MIA *anhāira*), darkness; barāt
(OIA *varayātrā* > MIA **varaītta*), marriage procession.

(vi) MIA ā + a, ā + ā—

diārī (OIA *diṇḍavali*), row of candles, a kind of festival;
koṭhārī (OIA *koṣṭhāgarika*), store-keeper; bhārār (OIA
bhāṇḍāgāra), store.

§150. Bhojpuri i comes from—

(i) OIA i as in—

mānik (*māṇikyā*), jewel; gābhini (*garbhini*), pregnant; budhi
(*buddhi*), intellect.

(ii) OIA ī as in—

biā (*bīja*), seed; diā (*dīpa*), lamp.

(iii) OIA a as in—

pījarā (*pañjara*), cage; gintī ($\sqrt{\text{gaṇa-}}$), to count; sts. imlī
(*amlīkā*), tamarind; imirtī (*amṛtikā*), a kind of sweetment;
chīlāsī (*śat-+asīti*), eighty-six.

(iv) OIA ṛ as in—

siyār (*śṛgāla*), jackal; hiā (*hṛdaya*), heart; sts. tirikhā (*tṛṣṇā*),
thirst; kiripā (*kṛpā*), mercy; pīrthī (*pṛthvī*), earth.

§151. Bhoj. I comes from—

(i) MIA ī + ā as in—

ājī (MIA *ajjiā*, OIA *āryikā*), grandmother; kiyārī or klārī
(MIA *keāriā*, OIA *kedārikā*), flower-bed; boli (MIA *bolliā*),
speech.

(ii) OIA 'i' before conjunct consonants as in—

cītā (*citraka*), leopard; jībhi (*jihvā*), tongue; pīthā (*piṣṭaka*),
cake.

(iii) OIA ṛ as in—

bhatījā (*bhrātṛjā-*), nephew; tījī (*tṛtīya-*), third; sīghī (*śṛṅga*),
horn.

§152. Bhoj. u comes from

(i) OIA u as in—khur (*kṣura*), hoof; churī (*kṣurikā*), knife; pāhun
(*prāhuṇa-* < *prāghūrṇa*), guest.

(ii) OIA ū as in—

bhuī (*bhūmi*), land; mahuā (*madhūka*), a kind of tree; sts
murukh (*mūrkhā-*), fool, illiterate; mus (*mūṣaka*), mouse.

(iii) OIA i as in—

bunī (**bundikā*, *bindu*), drop; geruā (**gṛiruka*, *gṛirika*),
ochre colour.

(iv) MIA *ava*, *ama*, *va* as in—

kachuā (MIA *kacchava* < *kacchapa*), tortoise; **auri** (MIA *avara* < OIA *apara*), another; **saūpal** (MIA *samappa*, OIA *samarpa*), to hand over; **deukuri** (*devakula*), temple; **duāri** (*dvāra*), door; **turant** (*tvara* + *anta*), quick.

§153. Bhoj. *ū* comes from—(i) OIA *ū* as in—

kapūr (*karpūra*), camphor; **dūr** (*dūra*), distant; **ūn** (*ūrṇa*), wool; **cūnā** (*cūrṇa* < *cūrṇa*-), lime, powder; **gōhū** (*godhūma*), wheat; **sūt** (*sūtra*), thread.

(ii) OIA *u* before conjuncts—

ūc (*ucca*), high.

(iii) OIA *ṛ* before two consonants—

būṛh (*vr̥ddha*), old man; **rūkh** (*vr̥kṣa*), tree; **pūch** (*pr̥ccha*-), to ask.

(iv) OIA 'au'—

pūs (*pāyusa*), name of a month.

§154. The sources of 'ē', e.—Bhoj. *ē* comes from—(i) OIA *e* as in—

khēt (*kṣetra*), field; **ēk** (*ekka* < *eka*), one; **jeṭh** (*jyeṣṭha*), elder; **bēt** (*vetra* > *vetta*, * *venta*), cane; **sēṭhi** (*śreṣṭhin*-), merchant.

(ii) OIA *ai* as in—

geruā (*gāṛika*), cloth of red chalk colour; **tēl** (*taila*), oil; **sewār** (*śajvāla*), water weed.

(iii) OIA *a* as in—

sēnhi (*sandhi*), hole made by thieves.

(iv) OIA *i* as in—

Sts. nēm (*niyama*), rule; **bēl** (*vilva*), a kind of fruit; **chēd** (*chidra*), hole

(v) OIA *aya*, *ayo* as in—

tels (*trayaviṃśat*), twenty-three; **terah** (*trayodaśa*), thirteen.

(In the above cases OIA *aya* > MIA *aia* > NIA 'e' or 'ē'.)

§155. Bhoj. *ō*, *o* come from—(i) OIA *o* as in—

ōṭh (*oṣṭha*), lip; **kōṭhāri** (*koṣṭhagārika*), store-keeper; **ghōṛā** (*ghoṛaka*), horse; **kolli** (*kobila*), cuckoo.

(ii) OIA *au*—

gōr (*gaura*), fair; **jholi** (*jhaṅṅika*), a small bag; **mōṭi** (*mayuktika*), pearl; **oṛiā** (*audrika*), people of Odra.

(iii) OIA a as in—

cōc (*cañcu*), beak ; nōh (*nakha*), nail.

(iv) OIA and MIA ava

ōsarī (*āvasara*), turn ; ohār (*avadhāra*), cover ; √*odarai* (*avadāra*-), to open, lāgoṭ (*MIA langaraṭṭa*), loin cloth ; osarā (*MIA avasāra*, *OIA apasāra*-), verandah ; oṛhanā (*avaveṣṭana*), covering, mantle.

(v) MIA ua as in

sōnh (*MIA suandha* < *OIA sugandha*), perfume ; ojhā (*MIA uajjhaa*-), a caste.

(vi) OIA ũ

okhari (*udūkhala*), mortar ; mōl (*mūlya*), price ; pothā (*pustaka*), book ; kōkh (*kuksi*), lap ; odri (*udara*), belly.

N.B.—For the list of diphthongs, triphthongs, see §48.

CHAPTER IX

OIA AND MIA CONSONANTS IN BHOJPURI

General Lines of Change to Bhojpuri

§156. The general history of the OIA consonants together with the special question of dialectical differences has been very exhaustively dealt with by various workers in the domain of NIA beginning with Beames and Bhāndārkar. The consideration of NIA phonology is connected with that of MIA (Pāli and Pks.) and in this connection the work of scholars in this line has to be taken note of.

§157. The most noticeable fact in the history of the consonantal changes has been the progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of stops. In the development of MIA from OIA, it has shown itself in three ways: (i) the loss of final stops, (ii) the assimilation of the first to the second in a group of stops; both these phenomena having their origin in the implosive pronunciation of stops in those positions, and (iii) the sonorification of the intervocalic breathed stops and eventual disappearance of all intervocalic stops except the two cerebrals which remain. In the case of the aspirates only the -h- sound remained.

§158. The course of this evolution was continuous. In early MIA comprising the language up to the inscriptions of Aśoka, the loss of all final consonants and the assimilation of consonantal groups have been carried through with certain exceptions noted below. The cerebrals which in OIA are practically confined to cases where a dental has become a cerebral owing to the influence of a neighbouring (s) or in the case of (n) also of a neighbouring (r), have greatly increased in number. This increase is perhaps due to the influence of the Dravidian speakers whose languages clearly differentiated the series. It can be noticed (i) in the increasing number of assimilations, e.g. *truṭṭyati* > *ṭuṭṭai* > *ṭuṭ*, breaks; (ii) in apparently spontaneous change of dental to cerebral, e.g. *paṭati* > *paṭai* > *pare* > *paṛe*, falls, through the influence of Bengālī which preserves 'r' and also of High Hindī in recent times.

§159. The most noticeable points in the matter of dialectical differentiation are in the treatments of (kṣ) and (ṛ, r+dental):

- (a) (kṣ) appears as (cch) in (north-west and south-west) and as (kkh) in the midland and east. Bhojpuri has (ch).
- (b) In the group (ṛ or r)+dental, the dental becomes a cerebral in the east but remains dental in the west. But mutual borrowing has been so great and extensive from early times that we find very old forms from one group in the other group of dialects showing differentiation in this matter.

§160. In the second MIA stage coming down to a few centuries before Hemachandra, the sonorization and the loss of intervocalic stops is carried through. After this loss, the hiatus was filled up by a euphonic semi-vowel y or w glide which either remained or disappeared without trace. Intervocalic -m- has become a mere nasalization of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of -ṃ-; -nn- both became the dental or alveolar n.

§161. In the third or early NIA stage, double consonants, the result of earlier assimilation are shortened and the preceding short vowels are lengthened. The same process is observable in the group, nasal+consonant, where the nasality is pronounced coincidentally with the vowels which are lengthened. This re-establishes the OIA system of intervocalic stops.

§162. The noticeable point of dialectical difference of this period is -v- < -vv- (< -vy-) remains w- sound in the west but becomes (-b-) in the midland and east. Bhojpuri has a b- sound.

§163. In the fourth or modern Bhojpuri stage, the loss of final MIA vowels and of certain short vowels between consonants has re-established the OIA system of final stops and of unassimilated consonant group.

The sounds of Bhojpuri consonants have already been described (§§49-68).

General Lines of Change to Bhojpuri

§164. The outlines of change shown below are practically the same as given in ODBL, §235, but modified here and there to explain typical Bhojpuri formations.

(I) Single Consonants

(1) Single initial consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been, however, some cases of aspiration and de-aspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal c(h)- and of bh- to h-; OIA y- and v- have changed to j- and b- and r- -s found as l- (l > n) and also as r-.

(2) Single intervocal consonants :—

- (a) The stops -k-, -g-, -t-, -d-, -p-, -b- and the semi-vowels -y-, -v- have been dropped; -ṭ-, -ḍ- have been reduced to -ṛ-; and in a number of Māgadhi inheritances -ṛt- (-rt-) have resulted in -ṛ- (or 'r') (ṭ as well; intervocal -c-, -j- both remain as -c-, -j- (in original Māgadhi words), or are dropped (in non-Māgadhi forms).
- (b) The aspirates -kh-, -gh-, -th-, -dh-, -ph-, -bh- have been reduced to -h-; -ṭh-, -ḍh- occur as -ṛh- (or 'rh').
- (c) -m- has become a mere nasalization of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of \tilde{w} ; -ṇ- -n- probably both occurred as the cerebral -ṇ- to be changed to the alveolar -n- in modern Bhojpuri.
- (d) A single initial or intervocal sibilant remains a sibilant usually, e.g. bis, bis (poison), bhaṣ, solah, sāṭh, etc.
- (e) Māgadhi 'l' from OIA 'r, l' becomes 'r' (which Grierson describes as 'dental') in Bhojpuri, e.g. phar, har, rāur, etc. Through Hindi, Bengālī, and Sanskrit influence the 'l' is frequently restored.

(II) Consonantal Groups

These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in Bhojpuri, after having undergone assimilation in the early MIA stage. The following were the main lines of treatment :—

(1) (a) Stop+stop became a single stop; stop+aspirate became a single aspirate. Where the first of these sounds differed in its point of

articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second in the MIA (kt > tt, gdh > ddh, tk > kk, etc.). This kind of consonant nexus occurred medially only.

(b) Stop+nasal: -kn-, -tn- became -k-, -t-; -gn- > -g-, n(g); -jñ- > -n-; -dn- has already become -nn- in OIA and this gave -n- in Bhojpuri; -tm- in *ātman* gave -p- (*āpan*); (*ātman*) > *atta* (Eastern), *appa* (from S.W.).

(c) Stop or aspirate+y.

(i) Gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials+y: the -y- was assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially in MIA (but the genuine Māgadhi change seems to have been *kiy-*, *diy-*, etc.). Bhojpuri preserves a single stop or aspirate.

(ii) Dentals+y: the group became -cc(h)-, -jj(h)- medially, and c-, ch-, j-, jh- initially. Bhojpuri preserves a single -c-, -j-. (This palatalization of dental+y seems not to have been characteristic of old Māgadhi, which changed -ty-, -dy-, etc., to -tiy-, -yy-, etc. The palatalized forms evidently from other dialects in MIA seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhi.)

(d) Stop or aspirate+r. The 'r' was assimilated to the preceding sound, which was doubled in a medial position, in MIA. Bhojpuri has one stop or aspirate. The group -dr- probably became *-dl- in the OIA source dialect of Māgadhi, whence we have -ll- > -l- in a few words in NIA.

(e) Stop or aspirate+l: assimilation of l.

(f) Stop or aspirate+v; assimilation of -v-. (In the groups -tv-, -dv-, -dhv-, the resultant form in some cases is -p-, -b-, -bh- in Mod. Bhojpuri as in other MIA; this labialization is non-Māgadhi.)

(g) Stop+sibilant.

(i) kṣ gives -kh- (through the Māgadhi), -ch- (through extra Māgadhi MIA forms).

(ii) ts, ps became cch in MIA whence ch in Bhojpuri.

(2) (a) Nasal+stop or aspirate: for treatment in Bhojpuri, see §§136ff.

(b) Nasal+nasal: the OIA groups were -ṇṇ-, -nn- and -mm-. They occur as -n- and -m- in Bhojpuri.

(c) Nasal (anusvāra)+y, r, l, v, ś(ṣ), s, h (see §§136ff.)

(3) -yy- gave -j- in Bhojpuri.

(4) (a) r+stop or aspirate:

(i) -r- before a guttural, palatal or labial: the latter was doubled and the 'r' was assimilated. In Bhojpuri, these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.

(ii) r+dental stop or aspirate of OIA show a twofold treatment: the r cerebralized and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated; or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralizing it. The former is the proper Māgadhi treatment; the latter non-Māgadhi. Bhojpuri has -ṭ(h)- -ṛ(h)- in Māgadhi and -t(h)-, -d(h)- in apparently non-Māgadhi forms.

(b) r+nasal: -ṇṇ-, -nn- were assimilated to -ṇṇ- in MIA which gave -n- in Bhojpuri and rm > mm > -m-.

(c) -ry-; the early MIA (non-Māgadhi) assimilation was to -yy- which gave second MIA -jj- whence Bhojpuri -j-. In one or two instances

probably sts. forms for Mag. Ap., only -yy- change is seen — āiyā = *ayyā* = *āryikā*, grandmother (cf. *ācāya*, ODBL, pp. 121-122, 1062).

(d) -rl- > MIA -ll- > Bhojpuri -l-.

(e) -rv- -s found as -bb- > -b-.

(f) r+sibilant: assimilation with the sibilant which is doubled (-śś-, -ss- = śś in Māgadhi) and is then reduced to a single sibilant pronounced 's' in Bhojpuri.

(g) -rh- > -lh- in Māgadhi, whence -l- in Bhojpuri.

(5) (a) -l+stop: assimilation of -l- leading to a single stop in Bhojpuri.

(b) -lm- > MIA -mm- > -m in Bhojpuri.

(c) -ly- > -ll- > -l- in Bhojpuri. There seems to be no case of -ly- > -yy- > -j- in Bhojpuri.

(d) -ll- > MIA -ll- > Bhojpuri -l-.

(e) -lv- > MIA -ll- > Bhojpuri -l-.

(6) -vy- > MIA -vv-, -bb- > Bhojpuri -b-. This is a non-Māgadhi change: the original Māgadhi alteration of -vy- was to viy, which is lost and -vy- > -vv-, -bb- forms have become established.

(7) (a) Groups with sibilant+stop or aspirate; śc, śk, ś(h), śp, śk(h), st(h) became initially an aspirate, medially a stop+its aspirate in MIA. Bhojpuri has a single aspirate.

(b) Sibilant+nasal:

(i) śn > MIA ṇh > Bhoj. ṇh.

(ii) sn > MIA ṇh > Bhoj. n.

(iii) śm, śm, sm > MIA as (śś Māgadhi), mh > Bhoj. h, m.

(c) Sibilant+y: normally assimilated to double sibilant in MIA, whence Bhojpuri single sibilant. There are cases of modification of this assimilated double sibilant to 'h' which are found in Bhojpuri: The source of these -h- forms is not clear: *Kariṣyati* > *kariṣai* > *karihai* > *karihe*; **karihi*, *kari* in Bhojpuri but not in Gujrāti, in Mārwarī, in western Panjābī. In Bengālī also *Kariṣyatha* > **karihaha* > *kariha*, *karia*, *kariyo* > *koro* = you will do (future imp.). Cf. Pāli: *kariṣyāmi* > **karṣāmi* > *kaṣāmi* = *kāhāmi*, Pk. *kāham*, *dāham* = *kariṣyāmi*, *dāsyāmi* where -sy-, -sy > h, which all have -s-.

(d) Sibilant+r, l, v: assimilation of r, l, v resulting in double sibilant > single sibilant pronounced 's' in Bhojpuri.

(8) h+nasal (hṇ, hn, hm): this group underwent metathesis in MIA (ṇh, nh, mh) and in Bhojpuri they have resulted in a single nasal; -hy- probably became -hiy- in Old Māgadhi.

(9) Visarga+consonant, simply doubled the latter, and Bhojpuri has a single consonant representing the OIA group.

In groups of more than two consonants, the semi-vowels, liquids or sibilants were assimilated and then they behaved in MIA like OIA groups of two consonants.

Phonological changes of a more general character are discussed below:

(B) ASPIRATION AND DE-ASPIRATION

§165. The aspiration of unvoiced initial stops is an important phenomenon in MIA phonology, e.g. MIA *khappara*, OIA *karpara*; MIA *phaṇasa*, OIA *panasa*; MIA *khujja*, OIA *kubja*; *khasiya* < OIA *kasila* (H.C., I, 181), *khinkhīni* < *kinkīni*, etc. This tendency is greater still in NIA languages.

§166. No satisfactory explanation covering all cases of aspiration has yet been suggested. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's suggestion that a vowel or a

mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute (W. Lectures, p. 189) is inoperative in cases like *khujja* (Sk. *kubja*) which he considers to be cases of aspiration without any apparent reason. Following Jacobi, Jules Bloch sees some connection of an 's' or 'r' in aspirating a stop but he is not satisfied with his explanation as he admits. Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that aspiration may be due to contamination with other forms plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia rather than to the presence of any particular sound, especially in initial aspiration (ODBL, §236).

§167. The Bhojpuri aspirates like Gujrātī agree in the main with the Sanskrit. In fact there are cases of aspiration which are common to all NIA languages as Dr. Turner suggests (Gujrātī Phonology, §40). Examples of such cases in Bhojpuri are:—

khīla (*kīla*, *khīla*-); *phās* (*pāsā*), trap; *bhūsā*, chaff (*būsa*-); *khel* (*kṛīd*), play; *phatīngā* (*paṭaṅga*), cf. Beng. *pharīṅ*, *bāph* (*vāṣpa*), vapour, etc.

§168. 't' finally and medially is often aspirated in Bhojpuri, e.g.

bharath (*bharata*), the name of one of brothers of Ram; *bhārath* (*bhārata*), but of Pk. *Bhāraha-vassa* = **Bhāratha-varṣa* and in the 'Khāravēla inscription' we have *Bhāradha*; *bharathari* (*bharaṭh-hari*); *mahābhārath* (*mahābhārata*), the great Indian War, etc.

§169. The aspiration takes place in case of loan words also, e.g.

khōm < *qōm*, قوم nationality; *cōbh* < *cōb* چوب; *banukhi* < *bandūq* بندوق, etc.

De-aspiration

§170. Loss of aspiration occurred in MIA as well. All NIA obtained some of these de-aspirated forms from MIA. Examples in Bhojpuri are:—

ūṭṭā (*uṭṭa*, *uṇṭa*, < **uṭṭha* = *uṣṭra*); īṭṭā (*iṭṭa*-, *iṇṭa* = *iṣṭa*).

The de-aspiration of final consonant in Nepālī, Gujrātī, Marāṭhī and largely also in Bengālī has been carried out thoroughly but Hindī has preserved it (Gujrātī Phonology, §40). In this respect Bhojpuri can be compared with Hindī and not with the above languages.

(C) VOICING AND UNVOICING

§171. In addition to interchange of aspirates and non-aspirates, voicing of unvoiced consonants and the reverse process as well as changes in the place of articulation occur in Bhojpuri. Voicing represents a stage in the growth of OIA before the complete elision of the intervocal stops in MIA, e.g. *calati* > *caladī* > *caladī* > *cala'i* > *cale*. Śaursenī and Māgadhī represent the aspirintized stage and Mahārāṣṭrī, the stage of final elision. Voicing started in transitional MIA and in the borrowed Sk. elements and was common enough all through: to avoid this, the consonant would be doubled in writing.

The following are examples of voicing in Bhojpuri:—

(i) -k- > -g- :

sts. *paraḡaṭ* (*prakaṭa*), public; sts. *sagun* (*śakuna*), omens;
sts. *sāg* (*śāka*), vegetable; sts. *kāg* (*kāka*), crow; sts.
bhagat (*bhaktā*), faithful.

Unvoicing

(ii) $b < bh$ and $\text{ṭ} < \text{ḍ}$.

bahini (*bhagini*), sister; *ḍanṭā* in '*guli-ḍanṭi*', a golf-like play of children (*ḍanḍa*, *ḍanḍa*).

(D) METATHESIS

§172. Metathesis is found occasionally in OIA and MIA. Some Bhojpuri words are the result of this early metathesis, e.g. *gharṣ* (**garha*, *grha*); *bahini* (*bhagini*), sister; *dah* (*hada* < *hrada*), lake; *halkā*, cf. MIA *halukka* = *laghuka*, light, etc. Examples in Bhojpuri are:—

lūkā (*ulkā*), falling of star; $\sqrt{\text{pāth-}}$ ($\sqrt{\text{sthāp}}$), to place; *sukaṭhī*, dry, cf. Beng. *sūṭhī*, dried fish (**sukaṭhī* < *śuṣka*); $\sqrt{\text{pahīr-}}$ (*pari* + *dhā*), to put on; $\sqrt{\text{cahūp}}$ = cf. Hindī ($\sqrt{\text{pahūc}}$), to reach; *mārṣwārī* (*mārṣwārī*), an inhabitant of Mārṣwār: *picās* (*piśāca*), ghost; *maṭuk* (*mukuṭa*), crown; *gaṛur* (*garuḍa*), a bird, etc.

Also in foreign words:—

tamagā < *tagmā*, medal; *dēks* < Eng. *desk*, etc.

(E) HAPLOLOGY

§173. Haplogy is the dropping of one of two similar sounds or syllables in the same word. Loss of consonants by haplogy is noticed in some cases in Bhojpuri, e.g.

naharni (*nakha* + *harṣikā*), a nail-paring instrument; *nakaṭā* (*nāk* + *kaṭā* < *nāsikā*), a man whose nose has been cut off.

(F) ECHO-WORDS

§174. Echo-words and onomatopoeitic formations on a lavish scale are as much a characteristic of Bhojpuri as of other NIA languages. A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word) and in this way the idea of *et cetera* and things similar to, or assimilated with that, is expressed (ODBL, p. 176). This is the characteristic of the Kolarian, the Dravidian and of NIA languages.

Bhojpuri takes *o-* in the formation of these echo-words, cf. *ghoṛā-oṛā*, horse and the like; *bhāt-ot*, rice and similar things; *kitāb-otāb*, books and the like.

(G) COMPOUND WORDS

§175. The varied types of compounds in a NIA language have been examined by Dr. S. K. Chatterji (Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan: Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1935). There are *translation compounds* in which one word is of native origin and the other foreign, designed to convey the meaning of the native word to speakers of a different language in the same locality, e.g. *kāgaj-pattar*, paper (Persian *kāgaj*, Indian *pattar*); *hāṭ-bajār*, market (Indian *hāṭ*, Pers. *bajār*), etc.

§176. Apart from translation compounds of the above type with a very clear foreign element, there are others where we have the native elements in both parts. This kind of compound can perhaps be traced back to the habit of grouping two synonyms for the sake of amplification or generalization of the meaning conveyed by one of them, e.g. *hāṭ-bāṭ*, the market and the road, i.e. outside; *ghar-dūār*, the house and the gate, i.e. everywhere, etc. [For compounds see also §§341ff.]

(H) BLENDING

§177. Oftentimes both the synonymous compounds are fused into one single word where the first part of one word is fitted into the last part of another, intermediate portions being dropped. The following are the examples of blending, e.g.

gocanā (< *gōhū+canā*, *godhūma+caṇaka*), wheat-grain; *go-jai* (< *gōhū+jai*, *godhūma+yava*), wheat-barley; *tiyāsī* (< *tṛṣā+pipāsā*), thirst, cf. E. Beng. *tiyās*.

(I) CONSONANTS IN CONTACT

§178. Consonantal contact with resulting changes takes place, however, in the case of compound words and connected sentences where the final consonant of the previous word comes in contact with the initial consonant of the following one. Such consonantal changes are hardly found in Bhojpuri. The numeral *ek* (*eka*), one, like Assamese, shows significant changes in contact, e.g. *e-bār*, one time where *ek > -e-*. The change does not take place in other cases, e.g. *ek-ājurī*, one palmful.

(J) ASSIMILATION

§179. The changes of consonants due to assimilation fall in a line with Bengālī. 'In the case of aspirate (stop)+aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is de-aspiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained' (ODBL, §247), e.g.

dudhī-dahi > *dud-dahi*, milk and curd; *ādh-thān* > *ād-thān*, half a piece of cloth; *bagh-chāl* > *bag-chāl*, the skin of a tiger; *kaṭh-phorwā* > *kaṭ-phorwī*, the woodpecker, etc.

There is regressive assimilation when stops and aspirates of the *same class* occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration (ODBL, p. 450).

ek-gīrī > *eggāri*, one wagon-load; *ḍāk-ghar* > *ḍaggghar*, post office, etc.

(K) DISSIMILATION

§180. The principal types of dissimilation are the de-aspiration of two aspirates in the same word, and also de-aspiration of OIA aspirations or of resultant MIA aspiration (§171).

CHAPTER X

THE SOURCES OF BHOJPURĪ CONSONANTS

The sources of Bhojpuri K

§181. Initial Bhoj. **k-** is derived from—

(i) OIA **k-** as in

kām (*karma*), deed; **kaūā** (*k-ika*), crow; **koili** (*kokila*), cuckoo; **kewaṭ** (*kaivarṭa*), a caste; **kāl** (*k-ila*), time; **kātika** (*k-irtika*), a month.

(ii) **kr-** and **kṛ-** as in

kōs (*krośa*), a distance of two miles; **kinal** ($\sqrt{kṛ}$), to buy; **kaīl** (*kṛta + illa*), done; **kōrā** (*kroḍa-*), lap.

(iii) **kv-** as in

kāṛhā (*kvātha-*), a kind of medicine.

(iv) **sk-** as in

kānh (*skandha*), shoulder.

§182. Intervocal and final **k**.

(i) OIA **-k-** = MIA **-kk-**.

ēk (* *ekka* < *ēka*), one; **ekaīs** (*ekka* < *ekaviṃśati*), twenty-one.

(ii) MIA **-kk-** < OIA **-kv-**.

cīkan (*cikkaṇa* < *cikvaṇa*), glassy; **hāk** (MIA *hakka*), shout.

(iii) **-ṭk-** and **-tk-** as in

chakkā (*ṣaṭka-*), sixth; **cūk** (MIA *cukka*, OIA *cyut + kṛ*), mistake; **makunā** (MIA *makkuna*, OIA *malkuna*), an elephant without tusks.

(iv) **-rk-** as in

pākaṛi (*parkaṭi*), fig tree; **makarī** (*markaṭaka-*), spider; **sakar** (*śarkarā*), sugar; **aḳwan** or **ekwan** (*arkaparna*), a plant.

(v) **-lk-** as in

bokalā (*valkala*), the bark of a tree.

(vi) **-ṣk-** as in

caūkā (*catuṣka*), kitchen; **nikālal** ($\sqrt{niṣ + kṛ}$), to drive away.

Interior **-k-** preserved often the nasal, e.g. **pāk**, mud; **sīkar**, chain. It is also found as a suffix in numerous nouns.

The sources of kh

§183. (i) Initially, **kh-** comes from OIA **kh-** as in

khajūr (*kharjūra*), date palm; **khājhā** (*khādyā-*), a kind of sweetmeat; **khapaṛā** (*kharpara*), tile; **khāṭlā** (*khaṭvā-*),

bedstead ; *khal* (*khalā*), scoundrel ; *khaṭmal* (*khaṭvāmala*), bug ; *khantā* (*khanitra*), a kind of spade ; *khayar* (*khadira*), catechu.

(ii) *kṣ-* as in

khēt (*kṣetra*), field ; *khīr* (*kṣīra*), milk ; *khūd* (*kṣudra*), small ; *khan* (*kṣaṇa*), moment ; *khār* (*kṣāra*), caustic, alkali.

(iii) *sk-* as in

khambhā (*skambha*), a pillar.

(iv) *k-* by aspiration as in

khilā (*kilaka* (cf. Beng. *khila* and As. *khilā*)), wedge ; *khīcaṛī* (< *khiccā*, probably < **kṣarikā* < *kṣara*-), cf. Beng. *khicuri*, rice and pulse boiled together.

§184. Intervocal and final *kh* from—

(i) *-kṣ-* as in

pakh (*pakṣa*), wing ; *mākhan* (*mrakṣaṇa*), butter ; *tīkh* (*tīkṣṇa*), sharp.

(ii) *-ṣ-* in sts. of recent import :

barkhā (*varṣā*), rain ; *bikhe* (*viṣaya*), matter ; *dōkh* (*dōṣa*), fault ; *bhākhā* (*bhāṣā*) language ; *rokh* (*rōṣa*), anger.

(iii) *-ṣk-* as in

pokharā (*puṣkara*), a pond ; *sūkhā* (*śuṣka*), dry.

Sources of *g*

§185. Initially *g-* comes from—

(i) *OIA g-* as in

gōrū (*gōrūpa*), cattle ; *gōr* (*gaura*), fair ; *gar* (*gala*), throat ; *gītī* (*gīta*), song ; *guna* (*guṇa*), quality ; *gadhaṇa* (*gard-abha*), donkey.

(ii) *gr-* as in

gāw (*grāma*), village ; *gāhak* (*grāhaka*), buyer ; *gāṭhi* (*granthi*), knot ; sts. *garhan* (*grahana*), eclipse ; sts. *garah* (*graha*), planet.

§186. Medial and final *g* from—

(i) *-gr-* as in

pagahā (*pragrāh-*), tether ; *aguā* (*agra-*), leader ; *agahan* (*agrahāyaṇa*), name of a month.

(ii) *OIA -gn- > MIA -gg-*

āgī (**agnik* ī), fire ; *nāgā* (*nagna*), naked.

(iii) *OIA -gy- > MIA -gg-*

sohāg (*śubhāgya*), fortune ; *jōg* (*yogyā*), fit.

(iv) *OIA -dg- > MIA -gg-*

mūgarā (*mudgara*), mallet ; *māgur* (*madgura*), kind of fish ; *mūg* (*mudga*), kind of pulse.

(v) -rg- > MIA -gg-.

gagari (*gargar-*), a kind of earthen pot; sts. garag (*garga*), a 'gōtra', i.e. a descendant of saint 'Garga'.

(vi) OIA -lg- > MIA -gg-.

phāgun (*phālguna*), a month; bāg (*Valgā*), a bridle.

(vii) By voicing from OIA -k- in ts. as in

sagun (*śakuna*), an omen; suggā (*śuka-*), parrot; lōg (*loka*), people; bhagat (*bhaktā*), devotee.

Ts. jñ is pronounced gy-, gla in the initial and medial positions and gi in final syllable, e.g.

jñūna > gyān whence colloquially glān or giyān, knowledge; so sajñān > sagyān > saglān while jajña > jagya > jagl, sacrifice.

The Sources of gh

§187. Initial gh- comes from—

(i) OIA gh- as in

ghām (*gharma*), heat; ghās (*ghāsa*), grass; ghāt (*ghaṭṭa*), landing place in a pond; ghōṛā (*ghoṛaka*), horse; ghī (*ghṛta*), clarified butter; ghin (*ghṛnā*), hatred.

g by assimilation of the following aspiration as in ghar (*grha* > **garha*), house.

§188. Medial and final gh comes from—

(i) OIA -ghr- as in

bāgh (*vyāghra*), tiger.

(ii) MIA -ggh- < OIA -dgh- as in

√*ughaṭā* (*udghaṭ-*), to publish.

(iii) -g- as in

siḡh (*śṛiga*), horn (with possible influence of *siṅha*, *singh*).

The following words are of obscure origin :—

gher, gherā, circumference; ghēcu, ghēṭu, neck; ghughunī, boiled peas with spices and oil (cf. Beng. *ghughni*); ghōghā, oyster, cf. Beng. (*joṅgaḍā*), ghur a heap of rubbish things; ghusal, to enter; ghūs, bribe; uḡhī, sleep; ghūcā, a receptacle for milked milk.

The Sources of c

§189. Initially c- comes from—

(i) OIA c- as in

cān (*candra*), moon; cāk (*cakra*), wheel; cēri (*ceṣi*), a maid-servant; cikan (*cikṭāṇa*), smooth; cōr (*cayra*), thief; cōc (*cañcu*), beak; citā (*citraka*), a tiger.

(ii) cy- as in

cual (√*cyav-*), to leak.

§190. Medial and final *c* comes from—

- (i) OIA -cc- as in
ūc (*ucca*), high.
- (ii) OIA -ñc- as in
pāc (*pañca*), five; maciyā (*mañca*), a raised platform; ācar (*añcala*), skirt.
- (iii) OIA -ty- > MIA -cc-.
nāc (*ṇṭya*), dance; sāc (*satya*), truth; kakaharī (*kṛtya-grha-*), court.
- (iv) OIA -s- as in
lālac (*lālasā*), desire.

The Sources of ch

§191. Initially *ch*- comes from—

- (i) OIA *ch*- as in
chātā (*chatra*), umbrella; chājā ($\sqrt{\text{chad}}$), to roof; chēri (*chāgalikā*), she-goat; chāh (*chāyā*), shadow; chinari (*chinna-*), a woman of bad character; chēni (*chedanikā*), an instrument for cutting.
- (ii) OIA *ṣ*- as in
chaw (*ṣaṭ-*), six.
- (iii) OIA *kṣ*- as in
chōh (*kṣobha*), agitation; churi (*kṣurikā*), knife; chēw (*kṣepa*), striking down.

§192. Medially and finally -*ch*- comes from—

- (i) OIA -cch- as in
kachuā (*kacchapa*), tortoise; gāch (*gaccha*), tree; puchal ($\sqrt{\text{prccha-}}$), to ask.
- (ii) OIA -kṣ- as in
māchī (*makṣikā*), fly.
- (iii) OIA -śc- as in
bīchī (*vr̥ścika*), scorpion; pachīm (*paścima*), west.
- (iv) OIA -śr- as in
mōchi (*śmaśru*), moustache.

The Sources of j

§193. Initially *j*- comes from—

- (i) OIA *j*- as in
jīw (*jīva*), animal, life; janam (*janma*), life; jan (*jana*), people; jāṛ (*jāḍya*), coldness; jāī (*jāla*), net; jībhi (*jībhā*), tongue.

- (ii) OIA jy- as in
jeth (*jyēṣṭha*), the month of 'Jeth', (*jyēṣṭha*), elder.
- (iii) OIA jv- as in
jar (*jvara*), fever; jalāwal (\sqrt{jval}), to burn.
- (iv) OIA dy- as in
juā (*dyūta*), gambling.
- (v) OIA y- as in
jantar (*yantra*); jagl (*yajñā*); jam (*yama*), God of death;
jōgl (*yogi*), ascetic; jatan (*yatna*), effort; joban (*yāuvana*),
youth.
- §194. Medially and finally j comes from—
- (i) OIA -j- as in
bhaūjāl (*bhrātrjāyā*), brother's wife; sarhajl (*śyālajdyā*),
wife of brother-in-law.
- (ii) OIA -jj- as in
kājar (*kajjala*), collyrium; lāj (*lajjā*), shame; sāj (*sajja*-),
dress.
- (iii) OIA -jjv- as in
ujar (*ujjala*), splendid.
- (iv) OIA -jy- as in
rāj (*rājya*), kingdom; banjl (*vāñjya*), trade.
- (v) OIA -dy- as in
āj (*adya*), today; bājā (*vādyā*), musical instrument; khājā
(*khādyā*), a kind of sweetmeat; anāj (*annādyā*), corn.
- (vi) OIA -ñj- as in
gāj (*gañja*), heap; pījrā (*pañjara*), a cage.
- (vii) OIA -yy- as in
sej (*śayyā*), bed.
- (viii) OIA -rj- as in
khajūr (*kharjūra*), date-palm.
- (ix) OIA -ry- as in
kāj (*kārya*), work; ājā (*ārya*-), grandfather.
- (x) OIA -y- as in
sahjōg (*saṁyoga*), union; sahjam (*saṁyama*), control.

The Sources of jh

§195. jh is a very rare sound in OIA but it is quite prominent in MIA. This sound occurs in quite a number of non-Aryan and

onomatopoetic words. Nothing definite can be said about the derivation and affiliation of most of these 'jh' words.

Initially Bhoj. *jh*- comes from -*kṣ*- as in

jhāwā (*jhāmaka* < OIA *kṣāma*-), over-burnt brick.

A number of Bhojpuri words with initial *jh*- are given below :

jhak, *jhak-jhak*, *jhakmak* (MIA **ja(va)kka*), shine (ODBL, §264); *jhagrā*, quarrel; *jhaṭkā*, clash; *jhaṭ*, quick (cf. Sk. *jhaṭiti*); *jhaṭ-paṭ*, quick; *jhap*, quick; *jhapās*, a clever man; *ghan-ghan*, *gham-gham*, onomatopoetic words; *jharnā*, waterfall; *jharal* (*kṣar*-?), to fall; *jharokhā*, lattice; *jhalmal*, sparkle; *jhalak*, flash; *jhākal*, to peep; *jhājhar* (*jhar-jhara*), porous; *jhāl*, cymbal; *jhārā*, night-soil; *jhōṭā*, tuft of hair; *jhōrā*, bag; *jhulā*, the garment of a lady; *jhālari*, lace end; *jhaṇḍā*, flag; *jhujhunā*, toy for babies, cf. Beng. *jhumjhumī*; *jhamelā*, noise; *jhāsā*, trick; *jhīkarī*, small pebbles; *jhījhini*, the pain in the leg; *jhījhiri*, the plying of a boat in a river; *jhōl*, soot; *jhīngur*, grasshopper; *jhīlī*, membrane (*jhīlī*); *jhūṭh* (*juṣṭa*, Dēśī *jhūṭha*), false; *jhū-mari*, a kind of song; *jhūmak*, an ornament of the ear; *jhūr*, a grass mark for dividing two fields; *jharī*, shower as in *phuljharī*; *jhōk*, gust of wind; *jhōjh*, cluster; *jhilaṅgā*, (*jirṇa* + *aṅga*), ragged clothes; *jhālā*, cob-web.

§196. Bhoj. medial and final *jh* comes from OIA -*dhy*- as in—

mājhil (*madhya* + *illa*), middle one; *sanjhā* (*sandhyā*), evening; *bājh* (*vandhyā*), barren; *sojh* (*śuddha*?), straight; *samujhal* (*sambudhya*-), to understand; *bujhal* (*budhya*), to understand; *jujhal* (*yudhya*-), to fight; *sījhal* (*sidhya*-), to cook; *ojhā* (*upādhyāya*), a surname, a caste; *gojhā*, a kind of food; *√arujhal* (*ārudhya*-), to entangle; *mājh* (*madhya*), middle.

The Sources of ṭ

§197. Initially *ṭ* (i) comes in the words of Dēśī origin as in—

ṭalal, to move, *√ṭal*; *ṭākā* (*ṭāṅkā*), money; *ṭāṅ*, leg; *ṭānarī*, leg; *ṭāṅī*, axe; *ṭeṅrā*, a kind of fish; *ṭūk*, a piece of cloth; *ṭuṭā*, an earthen pot (*tuṇḍika*?); *ṭaṭkā*, fresh; *ṭaksār*, mint; *ṭahal*, work; *tōṭī*, a pipe; *tōṭī*, hat; *ṭāṭī*, *ṭāṭ*, thatched bamboo; *ṭōṭkā*, sorcery; *ṭākal*, to sew; *ṭūsā*, tender green leaves.

(ii) MIA *ṭ*- < OIA *t*- through spontaneous cerebralization as in—

ṭekuā (*tarku*), a spindle; *ṭēṭh* (*tiryak* + *ardha*), crooked.

(iii) OIA -*tr*-

ṭikaṭhī (*trikaṭṭha*-), a bed for the dead; *ṭuṭal* (*truṭ*-), to break.

§198. Medial and final *ṭ* comes from—

(i) MIA -*ṭṭ*-, OIA -*ṭṭ*- and Dēśī -*ṭṭ*-.

āṭā (MIA *aṭṭa* < OIA **arta*), flour; *aṭārī* (OIA *aṭṭalika*), mansion; *kuṭal* (MIA *√kuṭṭa*-), to cut; *paṭuā* (MIA *paṭṭa*), *juṭ*; *ghāṭ* (*ghaṭṭa*), landing place; *hāṭ* (*haṭṭa*), market; *pōṭ* (**peṭṭa* < Dēśī: *poṭṭa*), belly; *kuṭnī* (*kuṭṭanī*), bawd; *maṭṭā* (Dēśī *moṭṭa*), fat.

- (ii) OIA -tr- as in
ṭhāṭ (? *sthā* + *tra*), style.
- (iii) OIA -ṭv- as in
khaṭiyā (*khaṭvā*-), bedstead.
- (iv) OIA -rt- as in
kaṭārī (*kaṭṭārikā* < *kartarikā*), an instrument for cutting;
kewaṭ (*kajvarta*), a caste.
- (v) OIA -ṛtt- as in
māṭī (*mṛttikā*), earth.
- (vi) OIA -rtm- as in
bāṭ (*vartma*), path.
- (vii) OIA -ṣṭ- as in
īṭ (*iṣṭa*), brick.
- (viii) OIA -ṇṭ- as in
kāṭ (*kaṇṭaka*), thorn; **kāṭahar** (*kaṇṭa-phala*- or * *kaṇṭa-dhara*),
 jack-fruit; **bāṭal** ($\sqrt{\text{vaṇṭa}}$ -), to distribute.
- (ix) OIA -nt- as in
bhṣṭī (*vṛnta*), stalk of flower.
- (x) OIA -ṭy- as in
ṭuṭal (*truṭya*-), to break.
- (xi) OIA -ṣṭr- as in
ūṭ (*uṣṭra*), camel.

The Sources of ṭh

§199. Bhoj. initial **ṭh**- comes from MIA **ṭh**- < OIA **st**-, **sth**- as in—

ṭhīk (* *ṭhikka*- < * *thiakk*- < *Sk. sthita* ?), right; **ṭhāw** or **ṭhāl** (*sthāma*), place; **ṭhāṭ** (*sthātra* ?), style; **ṭhag** (MIA *ṭhaga* < * *sthaga*), a cheat; **ṭhāṭhērā** (MIA *ṭhāṭṭhakāra*); **ṭhākur** (MIA *ṭhakkura*), chief; **ṭhāmḍhā** (* *ṭhaṇḍha*-, OIA *stabdha*- ?), cold; **ṭhāṭh** ($\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ -), standing.

ṭh is unexplained in a number of words possibly of Dēśī origin as in

ṭhēlā, pushing cart; **ṭhokar**, strike; **ṭhopārī**, residual after sugar is taken out from cane juice; **ṭhūṭh**, a tree without foliage; **ṭhokārī**, making noise by striking the tongue with palate.

§200. Medially and finally **ṭh** comes from—

- (i) OIA -ṇṭh- as in
kaṇṭhī (*kaṇṭhikā*), necklace of a 'Vaiṣṇava'; **sōṭhī** (*ṣuṇṭhik*- < *suṭṭhika*- < $\sqrt{\text{suṭ}}$), dry ginger.
- (ii) OIA -nth- through influence of -r- as in
gāṭhī (*granṭhī*), knot; **maṭṭhar** (*manṭhara*), slow, lethargic.

(iii) OIA -ṣṭ(h)- as in

āguṭhā (*ānguṣṭha*), thumb; **āguṭhī** (*ānguṣṭhikā*), ring; **koṭhārī** (*koṣṭhāgarika*), a store-keeper; **kāṭh** (*kāṣṭha*), wood; **jeṭh** (*jyeṣṭha*), elder; **mīṭh** (*miṣṭa*), sweet; **goṭhā** (*go-viṣṭā*), cowdung; **niṭhur** (*niṣṭhura*), cruel; **muṭhi** (*muṣṭi*), fist; **dhīṭh** (*dhr̥ṣṭa*), impudent; **pīṭhi** (*pr̥ṣṭha*), back; **dīṭhi** (*dṛṣṭi*), sight; **māṭhā** (*m̐ṣṭa* ?), residue in curd when butter is taken out; **rīṭhā** (*ariṣṭa*-), soap nut; **seṭhi** (*śreṣṭhin*), merchant; **lāṭhi** (MIA *laṭṭhi* < **laṣṭi*-), stick.

(iv) OIA -st(h)- as in

āṭhi (*asthī*), stone of fruit; **paṭhāwal** (*prasthāpa*-), to send.

The Sources of ḍ

§201. Initially Bhoj. **ḍ**- comes from MIA **ḍ**- mainly in Dēśī words but in some cases from OIA **d**- as in

dāṛhi (cf. *dṛḍha*-), branch (Dēśī *nāmamālā*, *dāḷi-sāhāye*); **ḍar** (MIA *dara* < OIA *dara*), fear; **dōkī** (Dēśī, *ḍoa*-, wooden spoon), wooden ware; **dolī** (*dolikā*), palanquin; **dēgī**, **dōgī**, a boat; **ḍerh** (*dviardha*), one and a half; **ḍahar**, path; **ḍanṭā** (*danḍa*-), stick; **ḍarhuā** (*dagdha*-), burnt, as in **ḍarhuā tēl**; **ḍorī** (Pk. *davara*-, thread), a rope; **ḍuggī**, a small drum, also **ḍugḍugī** (cf. Beng. *ḍugḍugī*); **ḍabbū**, a shallow brassware; **ḍabarā**, a round vessel (cf. Beng. *ḍābar*); **ḍamph**, a kind of drum; **ḍāṛ** (*danḍa*), an oar; **ḍāsal**, to spread; **ḍāgar**, cattle; **ḍōm** (MIA *ḍomba*), a low caste; **ḍāini** (*dākinī*), a kind of female imp; **ḍībā** or **ḍibiyā**, a small round box; **ḍās** (*darśa*-), an insect; **ḍērā**, tent; **ḍōṛ** (*ḍuṇḍuḥa* < **duṇḍubha*), a water snake; **ḍībhi**, sprout.

§202. Medially and finally (**ḍ** > **ṛ**) is from—

(i) OIA -ṭ- as in

akhaṛā (*akṣa-vāṭa*), the wrestling ground; **ghoṛā** (*ghoṭaka*), horse; **puṛiyā** (*puṭikā*), a small fold packet; **sāṛī** (*sāṭikā*), a cloth for woman.

(ii) OIA -ḍy-

jāṛ (*jāḍya*), cold, winter.

(iii) MIA -ḍ-, -ḍḍ- as in

hāṛ (MIA *haḍḍa*), bone; **gōṛ** (*goḍḍa*), leg; **paṛal** (√*paḍ*- as in *paḍas* < Sk. *pat*-), to lie down.

(iv) OIA -ḍr- as in

baṛī, great, big (late Sk. *vaḍra* ? but probably < *vaṭa* < *vṛta*), ODBL, §171; **oṛiyā** (*ṛudrika*), an inhabitant of Orissa.

(v) OIA -ṇḍ- as in

kūṛī (*kunḍa*-), a vessel for taking water from a well; **āṛ** (*aṇḍa*), testicle; **hāṛī** (*haṇḍi*-), an earthen pot; **lāṛ** (*lanḍa*), penis; **pāṛe** (*pāṇḍeya*), a class of Brāhmin; **bhāṛār** (*bhāṇḍāgāra*), store; **bhāṛ** (*bhaṇḍa*), a buffoon; **māṛ** (*maṇḍa*), starch; **gāṛṛī** (MIA Dēśī *gaṇḍīṛī*), small piece of sugar-cane.

(vi) OIA -nd- as in

sāṛsī (*samdamśikā*), tongs.

(vii) OIA -l- as in

tāṛī (< * *tāḍa*, cf. Sk. *tālaḥ*), toddy.

(viii) OIA -ṭ- as in

kaṛāḥ (*kaṭāha*), a big pan.

ḍ occurs finally in a number of words as in

gaṇḍā, counting by four; **paṇḍā**, guides in holy places; **aḍḍā**, a meeting place of friends.

The Sources of ḍh

§203. Initially Bhoj. ḍh comes from—

(i) MIA ḍh- as in

ḍhaknī < (*ḍhamkaṇ-*), a cover; **ḍhukal** ($\sqrt{\text{ḍhuk}}$ > MIA *ḍhuk-kasī*), to enter; **ḍhīl** (MIA *ḍhilla*), louse.

(ii) OIA dhr- as in

ḍhīṭh (*dhrṣṭa*), impudent.

ḍh occurs initially in a number of Dēśī words, e.g.

ḍhāṭhā, the stalk of maize plant; **ḍhaṇ**, style; **ḍhācā**, mould; **ḍhibarī**, a small lamp; **ḍhīṛh**, womb; **ḍhēkullī**, an instrument for drawing water from the well; **ḍhēsarāṇī**, to be lazy; **ḍhab**, style; **ḍharkā**, a small piece of bamboo for feeding the cattle; **ḍhelwās**, a sling; **ḍhāṭhī**, killing a man by throttling with two sticks; **ḍhēlā**, a piece of earth; **ḍhemnī**, a kept woman; **ḍhēkī**, husking machine; **ḍhēṛhī**, pod; **ḍhebuā**, pice; **ḍholak**, a drum; **ḍhōṇī**, a packet of two hundred leaves; **ḍhimilāil**, stumbling; **ḍhāral** (Dēśī *ḍhālae*), to pour.

§204. Medially and finally (ḍh = ṛh) comes from—

(i) OIA -gdh- as in

ḍāṛhā (*dagdha-*), conflagration.

(ii) MIA -ḍḍ- as in

uṛharī (*uḍḍa-*), a kidnapped woman.

(iii) OIA -rdh- as in

agawaṛhī (*agra-varḍha*), something which is given in advance; **aṛha-i-yā** (*ardha-tṛtīya*), two and a half; **ḍeṛh** (*dviardha*), one and a half; **bāṛhanī** (*vardhanikā*), broomstick; **baṛhai** (*vardhaki-*), carpenter.

(iv) MIA -ḍh- as in

gaṛh (Dēśī *gaḍha*), fort; **kāṛhā** (MIA *kaḍha*), medicine; **paṛhal** ($\sqrt{\text{paḍha}}$ < OIA *paṭh*), to read.

(v) OIA -ḍ- as in

sūṛh (*ṣuṇḍa*), trunk.

(vi) MIA -ḍdh- as in

būṛh (MIA *buddha* < OIA *vr̥dha*), an old man; **kāṛhal** ($\sqrt{\text{kaḍḍha}}$), the noun is **kaṛhul** as in **ḍol-kaṛhul**, the bride sent to the bridegroom's house for marriage owing to the poverty of bride's father.

The following words are mostly of obscure origin :

kōṛhī, cf. Beng. *kūri*, bud; **khōṛhilā**, a hole in a tree (cf. Sk. *koṭara*); **ṭhaṛhiā**, a disease on the tongue of the cattle; **deoṛhī**, gate, cf. Beng. '*deuri*'; **ḍhōṛhī**, navel; **piṛhā**, seat, cf. Beng. '*pīri*'.

(vii) OIA -ṇḍ- as in

sāṛh (*ṣaṇḍa*), a bull.

The Sources of t

§205. Bhoj. t- initially comes from—

(i) OIA t- as in

tel (MIA *tella* < OIA *taḡila*), oil; **tāt** (*tantri-*), gut; **tāmṛā** (*tāmra-*), a vessel made of copper; **tāṛī** (*tāḍī*, *tālī*), toddy; **tīt** (*tikta*), bitter; **tān** (*tāna*), tune; **tāmā** (*tāmra-*), copper; **tar** (*tala*), below, under; **tīlī** (*tīla*), the sesamum; **tīlak** (*tīlaka*), a mark on the forehead; **tūmā** (*tumba*), a gourd; **tētull** (*tintiḍi-*), tamarind; **tamolī** (*tāmbulika*), one who sells betel-leaves.

(ii) OIA tr- as in

terah (*trayodasa*), thirteen; **tīn** (*trīṇi*), three; **toṛ** (*troḥ* < *truḥ*), to break.

(iii) OIA tv- as in

turant (*tvaranta-*), swift, quick; **tu** (*tvam*), thou.

§206. Medially and finally t comes from—

(i) OIA -tr- as in

khet (*kṣetra*), field; **chātā** (*chatra-*), an umbrella; **cītā** (*citraka-*), a tiger; **bēt** (*vetra*), cane; **do-sūṭī** (*dvi-sūtrika*), a kind of cloth; **mamiāut** (*māmikā-putra*), maternal uncle's son; **mausiāut** (*mātr-śvaśṛkāputra*), the son of the mother's sister; **rāut** (*rājaputra*), a caste.

(ii) OIA -rt- as in

bāṭī (*varṭikā*), wick; **bāt** (*vārtā*), news, talk; **kāṭik** (*kārttika*), a month.

(iii) OIA -ṛkt-

pāṭī (*paṅkti*), row, line.

(iv) OIA -tt- as in

bīpati (*vipatti*), distress; **matwālā** (*matta-pāla*), a drunkard, a mad man; **bhīṭī** (*bhitti*), a wall; **pītar** (*pittala*), brass.

(v) OIA -t- as in

soṭā (*śrota-*, *śrota-*), spring; **puti** (*prota-*) (ODBL, p. 501), small fruit just growing out of flower.

(vi) OIA -kt- as in

tīt (*tikta*), bitter; **motī** (*māyuktika*), pearl; **bhāt** (*bhakta*), boiled rice; **bhagat** (*bhakta*), a devotee.

(vii) OIA -tth- as in

kaīti (*kapittha*), a kind of fruit.

(viii) OIA -nt-, -ntr- as in

dāt (*danta*), tooth; **āt** (*antra*), intestine; **jāt** (*yantra*), a grinding hand machine; **neotā** (*nimantraṇa*), invitation; **bhawātā** (*bhrama+anta-*), a kind of toy.

(ix) OIA -pt- as in

sāt (*sapta*), seven; **nāti** (*napṭṛka*), grandson.

(x) OIA -ktr- as in

jotā (*yoktra*), string tied in a plough.

In foreign loan words **t** represents 't' as in **phaūti**, death; **maūati**, death; **tōtā**, parrot, etc.

The Sources of th

§207. Bhoj. **th-** initially comes from—

(i) OIA **st-**, **sth-** as in

thān (*stana*), udder; **thariyā** (*sthālī-*), plate; **thorā** (*stoka-*), some; **thākal** (MIA *thakka+alla* < OIA $\sqrt{sthā}$?), to get tired; **thāh** (*sthā-*), depth, cf. Middle Bengālī 'thāha' and Mod. Beng. 'thai'; **thanaīlī** (*stana-*), a disease in the breast of women; **thān** (*sthāna*), place, as in **kālithān**, the shrine or place of goddess 'Kālī'; **thir** (*sthira*), stationary, quiet.

(ii) **th** is of uncertain origin in the following examples. Probably they are Dēśī words :—

thāṣanā, a worn out bullock or buffalo; **thāpi**, a wooden mallet; **thaparā**, slaps (cf. Beng. *thāṣpar*); **thunhi**, a prop; **thapuā**, tile; **thuthun**, nostrils of swine, horses, etc.; **thuthuri**, a kind of serpent; **thethar**, a shameless fellow; **thūk**, spitting.

§208. Medially and finally **th** comes from—

(i) OIA **-st(h)-** as in

nathuni (*nastanikā*), nose ring; **pothī** (*pustikā*), booklet; **pathār** (*prastāra*), spreading grain in sun to dry; **pathal** (*prastara*), stone; **hāth** (*hasta*), hand; **māth** (*mastaka*), head; **mothā** (*musta-*), a kind of grass.

(ii) OIA **-rth-** as in

sāth (*sārtha*), in company with; **caūth** (*caturtha*), fourth.

(iii) OIA -nth- as in

mathanī (*manthanī*-), churner.

(iv) OIA -th- is present in some semi-tatsama words also—

kāthā (*kathā*), story; **prithimī** (*prithvī*), earth.

The Sources of d

§209. Bhoj. d- initially comes from—

(i) OIA d- as in

dāt (*danta*), tooth; **dahī** (*dadhi*), curd; **dūdh** (*dugdha*), milk; **dakhin** (*dakṣiṇa*), right hand direction.

(ii) OIA dr- as in

darab (*dravya*), wealth; **dām** (*dramya*), value, price; **donā** (*drōṇa*), receptacle of leaf in which eatables are distributed.

(iii) OIA dv- as in

dul (*dvi*), two; **dosar** (*dvi-sara*), another; **dūnā** (*dviguṇa*), twofold, twice.

(iv) OIA -dh- as in

dāī (*dhātṛī*?), nurse.

§210. Medially and finally d comes from—

(i) OIA -dd-, -dr- as in

kudārī (*kuddāla*), spade; **bhādō** (*bhādra*-), name of a month; **hardī** (*haridrā*), turmeric; **khūd** (*kṣudra*), small; **dād** (*dadru*), ringworm.

(ii) OIA -rd- as in

gadahā (*gardabha*), ass; **caūdah** (*caturdaśa*), fourteen; **ada-wari** (*ārdra-vaṣikā*), little round balls made of pulse.

(iii) OIA -nd- as in

mādār (*mandāra*), a tree.

In ts. and sts., 'd' is retained as in

kadam (*kadamba*), a kind of tree; **dān** (*dāna*), gift; **dāta** (*dāta*), a giver.

In foreign loan words 'd' (ḍ) represents 'd' as in

dāwat, feast; **dāwā**, medicine; **darkhās**, petition.

The Sources of dh

§211. Bhoj. dh- comes initially from—

(i) OIA dh- as in

dhān (*dhānya*), paddy; **dhuā** (*dhūma*), smoke; **dharti** (*dhartṛī*), earth; **dhanuṣī** (*dhanuṣ-*), bow; **dhawar** (*dhavala*), white; **dhūri** (*dhūli-*), dust.

dh is also retained in **ts.** and **sts.** words as in—

dhan (*dhana*), wealth; **dharam** (*dharma*), religion; **dhenu** (*dhenu*), as in translation compound **dhenu-gāi**, cow.

(ii) OIA **dhr-** as in

dhuhā (*dhruva*), burden of a song; **dhurpad** (*dhruva-pada*), a kind of song.

(iii) OIA **dhv-** as in

dhuni (*dhvani*), sound

(iv) OIA **d-** followed by 'h' as in

dhiā (*duhitā*), daughter.

§212. Medially and finally **dh** comes from—

(i) OIA **-gdh-** as in

ḍūdh (*dugdha*), milk.

(ii) OIA **-ddh-** as in

budhi (*buddhi*), intellect; **sudh** (*śuddha*), pure; **sādh** (*śraddhā*), desire.

(iii) OIA **-dhr-** as in

gīdh (*grdhra*), vulture.

(iv) OIA **-rdh-** as in

ādhā (*ardha*), half.

(v) OIA **-rd-** as in

baradh (*balivarda*), a bull.

The Sources of p

§213. Initially Bhoj. **p-** comes from—

(i) OIA **p-** as in

pāre (*pāṇḍeya*), a caste among Brāhmin; **pān** (*parṇa*), betel; **pāc** (*pañca*), five; **paṅhal** ($\sqrt{pāṭh}$), to read; **pokharā** (*puṣkara*-), a pond; **puā** (*pūpa*), a kind of cake; **piyās** (*pipāsā*), thirst; **pūt** (*putra*), son; **pothī** (*pustikā*), booklet; **pāw** (*pāda*), foot; **pākh** (*pakṣa*), wing; **pus** (*pūṣya*), name of a month; **pānī** (*pānīya*), water; **pataī** (*patra*-), leaf.

(ii) OIA **-pr-** as in

pagahā (*pragraha*-), tether; **pasaral** (*prasara*-), to spread; **pahar** (*prahara*), a measure of time; **pathal** (*prastara*), stone; **pāhun** (*prāghuṇa*), a guest; **paīṭhal** (*praviṣṭa*-), to enter; **piyā** (*priya*-), husband.

(iii) OIA **-p-**, through anaptyxis, as in

pillahī (*pṛthā*), spleen.

§214. Medially and finally **p** comes from—

(i) OIA **-tp-** as in

upajal (*ut-padya*-), to grow.

(ii) OIA -pp- as in

pīpar (*pīppal*), a kind of tree.

(iii) OIA -mp- as in

lipal ($\sqrt{\text{limp-}}$), to wash with water; kāpal ($\sqrt{\text{kamp-}}$), to tremble.

(iv) OIA -tm- as in

āpan (*ātman-*), own.

(v) OIA -py- as in

rūpā (*rāpya*), silver.

(vi) OIA -rp- as in

sāp (*sarpa*), snake; kapūr (*karpūra*), camphor; kapās (*karpāsa*), cotton; sūp (*sūrpa*), a winnowing basket; khapaṛā (*kharpara*), tile; pāpar (*parpaṭa*), a preparation from pulse.

In sts. words p is retained as in

pāpṛ, vice; dūpṛ, a kind of incense for burning.

The Sources of ph

§215. Bhoj. ph- comes initially from—

(i) OIA ph- as in

phar (*phala*), fruit; phāgun (*phālguna*), a month; sts. phen (*phena*), foam; sts. phār (*phāla*), ploughshare; phūl (*phulla*), flower; phār (*phāṇḍa*), skirt of a woman.

(ii) OIA sph- as in

phurtī (*sphurtī*), agility; phīṭikīrī (*sphaṭikāri*), alum; phūṭ- (*sphuṭa*), split; phora- ($\sqrt{\text{sphoṭ-}}$), to break, to open; phoran (*sphoṭana*), to burn oil and spice for preparing vegetable.

(iii) OIA p-, by aspiration as in

phatingā (*paṭaṅga*), a kind of insect; phās (*pāśa*), trap; pharusā (*paraśu*), an axe.

§216. Medially and finally ph comes from—

OIA -ṣp- as in

bāph (*vāṣpa*), vapour.

The Sources of b

§217. Bhoj. b- comes initially from—

(i) OIA b as in

budhi (*buddhi*), intellect; bahir (*badhira*), deaf; bakulā (*baka-*), a heron; bunī (*bindu* * *bunda* < *bindu*), drop; bān (*bāṇa*), a shaft.

(ii) OIA br- as in

bāmhan, bābhan (*brāhmaṇa*), the Brāhmin caste.

(iii) OIA dv- as in

bārah (*dvādaśa*), twelve; **bāis** (*dvāvimśati*), twenty-two.

(iv) OIA v- as in

bahū (*vadhū*), bride; **bis** (*vimśa-*), twenty; **banārei** (*vārd-nasīya*), belonging to Banāras.

(v) OIA vy- as in

bāgh (*vyāghra*), a tiger; **bakhān** (*vyākhyāna*), narration.

§218. Interior -b- represents

(i) OIA -dv- as in

chabīs (*śaḍ-vimśati*), twenty-six.

(ii) OIA -bh- by de-aspiration as in

bahini (*bhaginī*), sister.

(iii) OIA -mb- as in

nībū (*nimbūka*), lemon.

(iv) OIA -rb-, -rv- as in

dubar (*durbala*), weak; **dūbl** (*dūrnā*), a kind of grass.

(v) OIA -v- as in

nabbe (*navati*), ninety.

The Sources of bh

§219. Bhoj. **bh-** comes initially from—

(i) OIA bh- as in

bhīkhi (*bhikṣā*), alms; **bhāt** (*bhakta*), boiled rice; **bhūī** (*bhūmī*), earth; **bhāt** (*bhaṭṭa*), a caste, bard; **bhādo** (*bhādra-*), a month; **bhāṛ** (*bhaṇḍa*), a buffoon; **bhagat** (*bhakta*), a devotee.

(ii) OIA -bhy- as in

bhītar (*abhyantara*), inside; **bhījal** (*abhyañj*), to get wet.

(iii) OIA bhr- as in

bhāī (*bhrāta*), brother; **bhāwaj** (*bhrātṛ-jāyā*), brother's wife; **bhawārā** (*bhramara*), a black bee.

(iv) OIA m- through the transposition of the following 'h' as in

bhaīsi (*mahiṣa*), a buffalo; **bhērā** (*mēṣa* through *mēha-ḍa*, **mhēḍa*) (ODBL, §281), he-sheep.

§220. Medially and finally **bh** comes from—

(i) OIA -bh- as in

subh (*śubha*), auspicious; **mahābhārath** (*mahābhārat*), the Great War.

(ii) OIA -rbh- as in

gābhīn (*garbhīnī*), pregnant.

- (iii) OIA -hv- as in
jībhi (*jīhvā*), tongue.
- (iv) OIA -mbh- as in
khambhiyā (*skambha-*), a prop.
- (v) OIA -hm- as in
mahābābhan (*mahābrāhmaṇa*).
- (vi) OIA -rv- as in
sabh (*sarva*), all.

The Nasals: Modern Bhojpuri ण, ण, न, म or ण, ण, न, म.

§221. All the five class nasals of Sanskrit are retained in Bhojpuri orthography and these, excepting ण which has dropped off from it as in the rest of the speeches of the Gaṅgā valley, all remain in Bhojpuri. The cerebral ण in tatsamas is pronounced by the paṇḍits in Bhojpuri and Maithili as ɸ. Thus *bāṇa* is pronounced as **bāɸ** in the present-day Bhojpuri. This is a bit of pedantry which, however, has caught the fancy of the lettered and is widely followed. In *tadbhavas*, however, (ण) has been replaced by (n). Thus **pāṇī** = Pkt. *pāṇiya*, **caṭhān** = *cauhāṇa*, **narāyan** = *nārāyaṇa*, etc.

The pronunciation of ण was probably ɸ̃ in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. This ण or ɸ̃ pronunciation was current in Bengālī in the seventh century; witness, for example, the spelling *saṃścāla* for *saṃścāla* in the Tipperah inscription of Lōkanātha (ODBL, §283). In Middle Bengālī the ɸ̃ pronunciation of ण(ṇ) was the only one known, when the sound occurred intervocally. This ɸ̃ pronunciation of ण is still common among a few old Bhojpuri paṇḍits while teaching children the letters of the alphabet but among present-day Bhojpuri people the old (ṇ) value of ɸ̃ is being revived.

§222. ण(ण), ण(ण): These two nasals occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in OIA. But in Sandhi ण or णṇ could occur intervocally in OIA also, e.g.

Sāmidhho agnīrdivī śocīr aśret
pratīṇṇ uṣṭsam urviyā vī-bhāti. RVS., V, 28, I ab.

In MIA ण occurs initially, and णṇ intervocally as a result of the simplification of consonant groups with nasals, e.g. Pāli: *ñāna* < *jñāna*; *aññ* < *anya*, but ण does not occur initially, neither are -ṇ-, -ṇ- and -ṇṇ- found intervocally.

§223. In the modern Bhojpuri, like Bengālī and Assamese, ण is met with in intervocal and final positions only: it is derived from MIA -ṇg and is written as ~g or ṇ.

§224. OIA single intervocal -m- > MIA -~w- is reduced to nasalization with or without a glide element in Bhojpuri, e.g.

āwārā (*āmalaka-*), a kind of fruit; **cāwar** (*cāmara*); **calī** (**calāmtī*), I move; **kūwār** (*kumāra*), an unmarried boy; **ṭhālī** (*sthāman-*), place in western Bhojpuri; **gāw** (*grāma*), village; **nāw** (*nāma-*), name; **dhūā** (*dhūma-*); **bhūī** (*bhūmī*), earth; **sāwar** (*śyāmala-*).

There is loss of this nasalization from -m- in some words, e.g.

kāno (**kannaṃ* < **kaddama* < *kardama*); **gawanaṁ** (*gamana*-);
banawāri (*vana-mālī*), name of a person.

§225. The reverse process of nasalizing spontaneously a -w- sound either original (i.e. < -v- in Sk.) or derived (e.g. from -p- of OIA) is also found in tbs, e.g. **chāh**, shadow (*chāyā*-); **kūwā**, a well (*kūpa*-); **sāwan** (*śrāvana*); **chāwani** (**chādāpanikā*), etc.

The ñ sound in Bhojpuri

§226. **ñ** is used for the nasalized palatal glide (~y) which, after all, is acoustically not very much different from the palatal nasal **ñ**. In modern Bhojpuri orthography **l** has taken the place of **ñl**. Thus **bhuñl**, the earth; **sāñl**, God, are written as **bhuñl**, **sāñl**, etc.

ŋ in Bhojpuri

§227. As it has been previously stated, the pronunciation of cerebral **ŋ** has become obsolete in modern Bhojpuri. **ŋ** is used freely in Bengālī orthography in *ta*-, *tb*- and foreign words but, really speaking, no Bengālī can pronounce the sound properly without training. In '*Kabira-Granthā-wālī*', edited by Dr. Shyam Sundar Das on the basis of a MS. of 1504 A.D., we find **ŋ** in *ta*-. words like **tribeñl**, **bāmhaṇa**, but in modern Bhojpuri it is written as **tribeñl**, **bāmhan**. When this **ŋ** became obsolete in Bhojpuri, is very difficult to determine. Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that the sound **ŋ** existed in Old and Middle Bengālī up to the end of the fourteenth century but there was a general confusion in its employment as a preliminary to its disappearance from speech (ODBL, §286).

The Sources of n

§228. Initially **n**- comes from—

(i) OIA **n**- as in

nāñl (*naptī*), grandson; **nāc** (*nṛtya*), dance; **nēñl** (*nemi*), foundation.

(ii) OIA **jñ**- as in

naihar (cf. dialectical Bengālī *nāihār*, *nai(y)ār*, (*nāyēr*)
< *jñāti-gṛha*, married woman's father's house.

(iii) OIA **sn**-, MIA **nh**-, **qh**- as in

nahṛ < *ṇhā* < OIA *śnā*, cf. Beng. *nāpīṭh* < Pāli: *nahāpita*
< *śnāpita*, a barber; **neh** < MIA *ṇeha* < *sneha*, affection.

§229. In the interior of a word -**n**- is from—

(i) OIA -**jñ**- > MIA -**ṇṇ**-, e.g.

minatī or **binatī** < *viññattī* < *viññaptikā*, prayer.

(ii) OIA -**ṇ**-, e.g.

kāñ < *kāṇa*, one-eyed man; **khan** < *kṇana*, moment; **√gan-**
< *√gaṇa*-, to count; **phan** < *phaṇa*, hood.

(iii) OIA -ny-, e.g.

punī (*punya*), merit.

(iv) OIA -n-, e.g.

āhana (written as *āgana*) < *aṅgana*, yard; $\sqrt{\text{āna-}}$ (*ānayati*), brings; **pānī** (*pāniya*), water.

(v) OIA -nn-, e.g.

anāj < *annāḍya*, grain; **chināri** < MIA *chinālia* < *chinna-*, a woman of loose character.

(vi) OIA -ny-, e.g.

ān (*anya*), another; **dhān** (*dhānya*), paddy.

(vii) OIA -rṇ-, MIA -ṛṇ-, e.g.

pān (*parṇa*), betel-leaf; **cunā** (*cūrṇa-*), lime; **kān** (*karṇa*), ear.

Bhojpuri -nh- comes from OIA -ṣṇ-, MIA -ṇh-, e.g.

kānhā or **kanhāiā** (*kṛṣṇa*).

OIA -hn-, e.g. **cinh** (*cihna*), sign.

OIA -ndh-, e.g. **kānh** (*skandha*), shoulder; $\sqrt{\text{banh-}}$ ($\sqrt{\text{bandh-}}$), to bind.

In a few words **n** represents OIA **l**, e.g.

nūn (*lavana*), salt.

Loss of -n- is noticed in **pasēri** < **pansēri*, five seers; **pasāri**, grocer, cf. Hindi *pansāri* < **paṇya-sālīka*, dropping of -n- possibly through influence of *prasāra*, spreading out.

Bhojpuri m

§230. Initially **m** comes from—

(i) OIA **m-**, e.g. **māciyā** (*mañcikā-*), chair; **mūh** (*mukha*), mouth; **mīt** (*mītra*), friend; **mūg** (*mudga*), a kind of pulse; **mār** (*maṇḍa*), starch.

(ii) OIA $\sqrt{\text{mākh-}}$ < *mṛkṣa-*, smears; **mākhan** < *mṛakṣaṇa*, butter.

(iii) OIA **śm-**, e.g. **masān** (*śmaśāna*), the burning place of dead body; **mōch** (*śmaśru*), moustache.

§231. Medially and finally -**m-** represents

(i) OIA -**mb-**, e.g. **nīm** (*nimba*), a tree; **kamarā** (*kambala-*), a blanket; **alam** (*ālamba-*), support; **jāmuni** (*jambu-*), a kind of fruit; **kadam** (*kadamba*), a tree.

(ii) OIA -**mbh-**, e.g. **kusum** (*kusumbha*), a colour.

(iii) OIA -**mr-**, MIA **mb**, e.g. **ām** (*āmba*, *āmra*), mango; **tāmā** (*tāmra*), copper.

(iv) OIA -**rm-** > MIA -**mm-**, e.g. **kām** (*kamma*, *karma*), work; **ghām** (*gharma*), hot sun.

(v) OIA -**hm-**, e.g. **bāmhan** (*brāhmaṇa*), a Brahmin.

The Semi-vowels y and v

§232. The initial, y and v became j and b in Bhojpuri in the same manner as they became in Bengālī.

In the middle or in the end of words 'y' normally became (e) in Bhojpuri, although 'y' is present in Bhojpuri orthography. Thus bayas, pāyas, bāyas, samayṣ, sahāyṣ are pronounced and sometimes written as baēs, pāēs, bāēs, samē, sahāe, etc.

The spelling pronunciation of y is sometimes heard on account of the influence of literary Hindi in Bhojpuri area. Thus Yamunā, the name of a person, and Sarayū, the name of a river, although normally pronounced as Jamunā and Sarjū, are sometimes heard as Yamunā and Sarayū.

§233. In the Bhojpuri documents of fifty to sixty years ago the word svasti is found written as svastī, śvāstī and sostī. This shows that the pronunciation of va has become o in tatsama words in Bhojpuri like the Middle Bengālī Sanskrit pronunciation in some cases at least.

The letter (ॠ) 'v' is present in the Kaithī character as ॠ and is pronounced medially in words like kawar, bhāwar, etc. as 'w'.

§234. MIA -vv- < OIA -rv-, -vy- has a twofold treatment in Bhojpuri according as -vv- represents OIA -rv- or -vy-. The OIA sound group -rv- > MIA -bb- > -b in Bhojpuri, e.g. dubī, a kind of grass (dārvā-); cabā-, chewing (carva-); sab, all (sarva).

But MIA -vv- representing OIA -vy- becomes -v- > w and is written and pronounced as a glide, e.g. sow- to sleep (suva-); dhow-, to wash (dhuvv-).

The twofold development of OIA -rv-, -vy- into -b- and -v- seems to have counterparts in early and late MIA, e.g. Pāli sabba (sarva); nibbāna (nirvāna). In late MIA (Ap.) both -vv- and -bb- are noticeable for OIA -rv-, e.g. sabba and sarva for (sarva). As against these Dr. Bloch has noted -v- development of -rv- in Marāṭhi (L.M., §155). This difference in treatment may be supposed to point to some dialectical variations in MIA times.

§235. Conversely -vy- (in OIA -tavya-) > MIA -vv- > Bhojpuri, Bengālī and Assamese -b- through an earlier *-bb-; whereas western languages have -v-. The change of -vv- (-tavya) to -b- in eastern dialects is not accounted for.

In sts. 'v' undergoes epenthesis and -v has a w- sound, e.g. svāda > *svādd > sts. sawād, taste. The w- articulation of v- is heard in sounds like biswās (viśvāsa), trust.

The Liquids r, l

§236. It has been found that there were at least three dialects which as early as the Ṛg-Veda differed in their treatment of IE. r and l. One distinguished r and l, the second confused them as 'r' and the third confused them as l (Wackernagel, §129; Turner: Gujrātī Phonology, JRAS, 1921, p. 517). The Prācyā or eastern OIA, the source of Māgadhī and the modern Māgadhan speeches, was an l-dialect. Sanskrit shows its composite character as a literary language in its r and l words occurring side by side (ODBL, §291).

As a matter of fact, all the Māgadhan speeches ought to have only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid l. But owing to affinities with other languages the Māgadhan dialects use both r and l. Thus Bengālī and Assamese both have r and l in tb. words, although in

Assamese there is a greater predominance of change of *r* to *l* than of *l* to *r* (ODBL, §291, Assamese, its Formation and Development, §483).

In Bhojpuri, too, we find both *r* and *l* in tb. words, e.g. *phar* (*phala*), fruit; *har* (*hala*), plough; *kērā* (*kadala*-), plantain; *rāur* (*rāja-kula*); also in $\sqrt{\text{dhar-}}$, $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$, etc. The Bhojpuri proper name *sālik* = Bengālī, *śālikā* = *Sārikā* (Māgadhi Pkt. *śālikka*).

§237. The *l* sound is now absent in the upper Gaṅgā valley; it is not found in any of the Māgadhan speeches, except Oṛiyā. In most Second MIA, single intervocal *l* of Early MIA, whether original (i.e. found in the oldest IA) or derived (i.e. developed out of *r* as in Māgadhi) was cerebralized to *ḷ*. Māgadhi of the Second and Third MIA probably had this *ḷ*. But it became a dental or alveolar *l* once more in all Māgadhan of the NIA period excepting in Oṛiyā. Bhojpuri, Bengālī and other NIA speeches show *r* for *ḷ* in a few words, e.g. *tārī* fermented palm-juice (= *tāḷa*, *tāla*). Judging from the evidence of other NIA like Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujrātī and Marāṭhī, as well as from Oṛiyā, the presence of *ḷ* in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa can very well be assumed.

§238. Sources of Bhojpuri *r*.

Initially Bhojpuri *r* represents Sk. *r*- which probably ousted Māgadhi *l*- in most cases: *rāti*, night (*rātri*); *rār*, widow (*raṇḍa*); *rānī*, queen (*rājñī*); *rīṭhā*, soap-nut (*ariṣṭa*-); *rūpā*, silver (*rūpya*-); *rōhū*, a kind of fish (*rōhiṭa*); *rēṛī*, castor (*eraṇḍa*-), etc.

§239. In the interior of a word -*r*- corresponds to

- (i) OIA -*r*-, e.g. *kiyārī*, or *kiārī*, flower-bed (*kēdārikā*); *qūmarī*, a kind of tree (*udumbara*); *kukur*, dog (*kukkura*); *par*, on (*upara*); *gahir*, deep (*gabhīra*); *gōr*, (*gāyra*), etc.
- (ii) OIA -*r*-, e.g. $\sqrt{\text{karal}}$, to do ($\sqrt{\text{kr}}$); $\sqrt{\text{maral}}$, to die ($\sqrt{\text{mr}}$); *pirthīpati*, the lord of the earth (*prithvīpati*); *ghar*, house (*grha*).
- (iii) Conjoint consonants with -*r*- in sts. words are sometimes separated by anaptyctic vowels, e.g. *karam* (*karma*); *jantar* (*yantra*); *mantar* (*mantra*); *dharam* (*dharma*); *darasan* (*darśana*). Also in tb. words, e.g. *bhikhārī*, a beggar (*bhikṣā-kārī*); *sasur*, father-in-law (*śvaśura*), etc.
- (iv) OIA -*t*-, -*d*- > Second MIA -*ḍ*- in the numerals especially, e.g. *bārah*, twelve (*dvādaśa*); *satarah*, seventeen (*sapta-daśa*); *sattarī*, seventy (*saptati*); *parōsī*, neighbour (cf. Hindi *parōsī* < *pratīveśī*), etc.

§240. Bhojpuri *l*- initially comes from OIA *l*-, e.g. *lōhā*, iron (*loha*-, *lōḥa*); *lāj*, shame (*lajjā*); *lāṛu*, sweetmeat (*laddu*); *lākh* (*lakṣa*), etc.

§241. In the interior of words -*l*- < Māgadhi -*l*- (or *ḷ*) and -*ll*- equating

- (i) OIA -*ḍ*- : *khāl* ($\sqrt{*skṛid}$, *kṛīḍ* MIA * *khell*-); *solah*, sixteen (*śoḍaśa*).
- (ii) OIA -*dr*- > MIA -*ll*-, > -*ḍḍ*-, e.g. *bhalā*, good (*bhadraka*); *māl*, wrestler (*malla*, *madrā*).

- (iii) OIA -r- : **cālis** (*catvāriṃśat*) and in other numeral compounds belonging to the forty group; $\sqrt{\text{pel-}}$ (*pellai*, *prērayati*); **śālik** (*sārikā*).
- (iv) OIA -rṇ- > MIA -ll- : $\sqrt{\text{ghol}}$, to mix (*ghūrṇa-*).
- (v) OIA -ry- > MIA -ll- : e.g. **palañ**, bed (*panyāka*).
- (vi) OIA -rd-, e.g. **chāl**, bark (*challi- < chardis*).
- (vii) OIA -lya > MIA -ll- : e.g. **tēl**, oil (**tailya*, *tajla*); **tili** (*tila*).
- (viii) OIA -ly-, e.g. **mōl**, price (*mōlla*, *mūlya*).
- (ix) OIA -ll-, e.g. sts. **bhālu**, bear (**bhallukka*, cf. Sk. *bhalluka*); **māl**, wrestler (*malla < madra*).

§242. There are instances of interchange between **n** and **l** in initial positions. This tendency is common to all Māgadhan speeches, and probably characterized the Apabhraṃśa Māgadhi dialects. Examples:—

- l** > **n** as **nūn** (*lavaṇa*), **n** > **l** as **lañ(g)ā**, naked (*nañga-*, *nagga-*, *nagna-*). It is also found in a few foreign words, e.g. **lōṭ** = English 'note, bank-note'; **loṭis** = 'notice'; **lammar** = English 'number'. This change of (n) to (l) is looked upon as a rustic trait.

The Sibilants : The Palatal ś and the Dental s

§243. The palatal ś which is a prominent characteristic of Māgadhan speeches is absent in Bhojpuri and its sister dialects Maithili and Magahi and only dental or alveolar (s) is used in its place. The Kaithi character, however, employs only (ś) which possibly shows the occurrence of the palatal pronunciation in early Bhojpuri. In Bhojpuri even in tatsama words ś is pronounced as s. Thus Sk. *Śiva* = **Siw** in Bhojpuri.

Among the other Māgadhan dialects, it is the West Bengālī which has kept the original Māgadhan value of ś intact. In Oṛiyā, the ś has been slightly dentalized and is very like sɿ rather than like a pronounced ś sound. In Early Assamese intervocal ś became h, and in recent Assamese single ś initial or intervocal is pronounced as the guttural spirant x, although written ś, ṣ, s. East Bengālī partly agrees with Assamese in turning ś to h. Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that the dentalization of the sibilant in the western and central Māgadhan tracts is probably due to the overwhelming influence of upper India under which these tracts have been for some thousand years (ODBL, §297).

§244. The cerebral ʋ (ṣ) was pronounced as guttural ʋ (kh) in Bhojpuri a few years ago and this is still heard in the proper name **rikhī** = (*ṛṣi*), **dokh** (= *dōṣa*) and **rokh** (= *rōṣa*). In reciting the Sutra of Pāṇini, ʋʋʋʋ one hears the old paṇḍit pronouncing ʋ (ṣ) as kh. The Kaithi character, too, has kh only and no ṣ. But the employment of 'Devanāgarī character' and the influence of Sanskrit has restored the three letters ś, ṣ, s in writing. In the pronunciation, too, some change is noticeable and in tatsama words s and ś are pronounced properly. As regards cerebral ṣ, it is written in tatsama words, but its pronunciation is palatal and not cerebral.

§245. Sources of Bhojpuri s.

OIA ś, ṣ, s regularly change to s in Bhojpuri, e.g. **kusal** (*kusala*); **ās** (*āśā*), etc.; **pūs**, the name of a Hindu month (*pūṣa*); **asār** (*āpārha*); **sāt**

(*sapta*), etc., etc. Groups of *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*+a semi-vowel or groups of -*rsv*-, -'*rṣ*'-, etc. become -*s*- in Bhojpuri, e.g.

- rs*- : *pās* (*pārśva*), near.
- rṣ*- : *cās*, tilth (? *carṣ* = $\sqrt{kṛṣ}$); *ghas*, rub ($\sqrt{gḥṣ}$), etc.
- śm*- : *rāśi*, rein (*raśmi*).
- śy*- : *sār*, brother-in-law (*śyāla*-, *śyāla*-); *sāwar* (*śyāmala*); *bisāti*, commerce (*vajśya*-).
- śr*- : *sāwan*, the name of a Hindu month (*śrāvaṇa*); *seṭh*, a merchant (*śreṣṭhīn*); *misal*, mixed (*mīśra*-); *sāsu*, mother-in-law (*śvaśrū*).
- śv*- : *sasur*, father-in-law (*śvaśura*); *sās*, breath (*śvāśa*).
- ṣy*- : *mānus*, man (*manuṣya*, *mānuṣa*).
- sm*- : $\sqrt{bīsar}$ -, to forget ($\sqrt{vīsmar}$ -).
- sy*- : *ālas*, laziness (*ālasya*); *kāsā*, a base metal (*kāṁśa*, *kāṁśya*-).
- ṣṛ*-, -*ṣṛ*- : *sōt*, fountain (*śrotas*); *māṁsī*, mother's sister (*mātṛṣvasṛ*-).
- sv*- : *sāī* (*svāmī*-); *gosāī* (*gosvāmī*-); *sur* (*svara*).
- ḥsv*- : *nisān*, music (found in Bhojpuri songs only) (*niḥsvāna*).

§246. Bhojpuri, like Bengālī and other NIA languages, presents cases of change of single intervocal sibilant to *h*. This change is a MIA one, and came in vogue in the second MIA period, and was rather prominent in the Apabhramśa stage, and is carried down to recent NIA. In Bhojpuri third person singular future affix -*iḥē*, we find -*h*- from *iṣyati* > *iḥai*. In the Panjābī, we find words *hār* = *āpāḥa*; *pōh* = *pāyṣa*; *dah* = *das*, etc. In Bhojpuri, Bengālī and Hindī, the word *dahalā*, card of ten (*daba*), is perhaps a loan-word from the Panjābī, although *daha* for *daba* is found in 'Caryās' also.

The occurrence of -*h*- in non-initial syllables in Assamese, e.g. *hāhi*, smile ($\sqrt{hās}$); *bāhi*, flute (*vaṁśī*); *mānuh* (*mānuṣa*) seems to be a local phenomenon and does not seem to have any connection with the change of the OIA sibilants to 'h' in MIA (Assamese, its Formation and Development, §495).

The Glottal Fricatives, Voiced ḥ, Unvoiced h

§247. Bhojpuri *ḥ* is a voiced sound, as in OIA. The initial *h*- of OIA has been preserved in Bhojpuri as in other NIA languages, except in certain dialects, e.g. in east and north Bengālī and occasionally in Assamese. Intervocal *ḥ* of OIA is in origin always a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian **gh*-, **zh* and also partly from **dh* **bh*-. In MIA of the second period, all OIA single intervocal voiced aspirates except -*ḍh*- became *ḥ*, and this *ḥ* fell together with the OIA -*ḥ*-. Medial *ḥ* has continued undisturbed down to the modern Bhojpuri. It was present in early middle Bengālī and early Assamese after which it tended to drop off.

§248. Initially Bhojpuri *ḥ* comes mainly from—

OIA *h*- : e.g. *har*, plough (*hala*); *harnā*, deer (*haviṇa*); *hāth*, hand (*hastā*); *hāthī*, elephant (*hastin*); *hardī* (*haridrā*); *hāṭ*, market (*hastā*); *hārā*, diamond (*hiraṇa*-), etc.

§249. Medially and finally **ñ** comes from—

- (i) OIA -**kṣ**- : e.g., **lāh** (*lākṣā*), resin.
- (ii) OIA -**kh**- : e.g. **ahērī**, hunter (*ākhetika*); **mūh**, mouth (*mukha*).
- (iii) OIA -**gh**- : e.g. **haluk**, light (a metathesis of *laghuka*); **nalhar** (*jñāti-ghara < jñāti-grha*).
- (iv) MIA -**ḍh**- : e.g. **āhuṭh**, three and half (*aḍḍhuṭṭha*, *ardha-caturtha*).
- (v) OIA -**th**- : e.g. **kahanī**, story (*kathanikā*); **guh**, night-soil (*gūha*, *gūṭha*).
- (vi) OIA -**dh**- : e.g. **sohanī**, weeding (*sodhan-*); **bahir**, deaf (*badhira*); **patohu**, daughter-in-law (*putra-vadhū*); **sāhu**, merchant (*sādhū*).
- (vii) OIA -**bh**- : e.g. **sohāg**, blessedness (*sāybhāgya*); **gadahā**, ass (*gardabha*); **gahir**, deep (*gabhira*); **bihān**, day-break (*vibhāna*).
- (viii) OIA -**h**- : e.g. **bāhī**, arm (*bāhu-*); **lohā**, iron (*lauha*); **panahī**, shoe (*upānaha*); **pharhār**, fruit-diet (*phalāhāra*); **rōhū**, a kind of fish (**rohuta*, *rōhita*), **pagahā**, halter (*pragraha*).
- (ix) The change of OIA **ṣ** to **h** has been explained. Similarly **ś** in numeral compounds, e.g. **calidah** (*catur-daśa*), etc. is changed to **h**. Also **s > ñ** in **ekahattari** (*eka-saptati*) and in other numerals.

§250. In the present-day Bhojpuri -**st-**, -**ṣṭ-**, become (-**ṣit-**, -**ṣiṭ-**), e.g. **āhte** = **āstē**, slowly (Pers. *āhistah*); **saitā** = **sastā**, cheap (Pers. *sastah*); **daṭturi**, customary commission = Persian *dastūrī*; **mīṣṭiri** = **mīstri**, mason, artisan, from the Portuguese; **aṭamī** = **aṣamī** = Sk. *aṣṭamī*, etc.

§251. A prothetic **ñ** occurs in Bhojpuri. It also occurs in Bengālī. Thus in Bengālī **hākuli** 'be full of anxious fears' (*ākula-*), **hariṭha**, soap-nut (*ariṣṭa*), etc. are found. The eastern dialect of Aśoka has a similar prothetic **h-**, e.g. **hevaṃ**, **hida** (*evam*, *idha-*, *idṛśa* : the second one by metathesis). Examples from Bhojpuri are: **hulās** (*ullāsa*), cf. also M.B. *hullāśa*; **hēṭhā** (in the Western Bhojpuri; cf. *ēṭṭha*, *atra*); **hackā**, pull, Hindi *aicnā* (= *ā-krakṣ*, according to Hoernle).

§252. There are some words in which -**h-** seems to be intrusive in Bhojpuri, e.g. **sahdūl**, a kind of bird (*sārdūla*); **sarhaj**, brother-in-law's wife (*śyāla-jāyā*).

ñ occurs in a number of words of obscure origin, e.g. **harkā**, a slight injury; **hurukā**, a kind of drum; **hāphī**, deep breath; **√hag-**, to pass stools, etc.

Unvoiced h

§253. The voiceless **h** is like the English sound in 'hat', 'happy', etc. It is found in a few exclamatory words, and is optionally changed to the voiceless velar, palatal or bilabial aspirant according to the nature of the preceding vowel. Thus **ah** : = **ax** : , **iḥ** : , **ic** : , **eh** : , **ec** : , **uh** : , **uf**.

The final 'visarga' in Sanskrit words has the proper unvoiced (**h**) value in Bengālī. Thus **rāmaḥ**, **muniḥ**, **kaveḥ**, **gāyḥ**, etc. are pronounced by Bengālī speakers as *rāmāh*, *muniḥ*, *kabēh*, *gauh*. The Bhojpuri speaking paṇḍits of Banāras, however, pronounce the final 'visarga' as voiced **ñ** and thus they pronounce these words as *rāmāñ*, *muniñ*, *kabeñ*, *gaufu*. This pronunciation, in fact, prevails in northern India.

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE FORMATIVE AFFIXES

§254. The NIA suffixes have been thoroughly discussed by Hoernle and Dr. Chatterji in their 'Gaudian Grammar' and 'Origin and the Development of the Bengali Language'. Following these scholars, below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bhojpuri.

A. SUFFIXES

(1)

-ꣳ

§255. This represents the nominative ending of OIA masc. *aḥ*, fem. *ā* and neut. *am*. It also represents the simple verbal roots used as action nouns.

bātꣳ (*vārtā*), talk; **bolꣳ** (MIA *bolla-*), speech; **cālꣳ** (*cālah*), style, way; **dhanꣳ** (*dhanam*), wealth; **manꣳ** (*manah*), mind; **samujhꣳ** (*sambudhya-*), understanding; **jācꣳ** (*yāc-*), test; **mēlꣳ** (*mela-*), union; **jhōkꣳ** (MIA *jhukka-*), gust of wind; **āṛꣳ** (*ardha*), cover; **cahūpꣳ**, a metathesis, from MIA **pahuñcca* < OIA **pra-bhuccha* < IE **pro-bheñ-ske-* (ODBL, §171), reach, arrive; **ḍāṛ** (*daṇḍa-*), punishment.

(2)

-(a)ñlꣳ

§256. This suffix forms possessive adjectives from substantives.

tonañlꣳ (*tunda + ñla*), a pot-bellied man; **dhōdhañlꣳ**, a pot-bellied fat man.

The lengthened form of the suffix is **-ñlā**.

banañlā, wild; **gharañlā**, belonging to the house or family.

This suffix is found in Maithili and in Magahi also.

Origin: MIA (adjectival) *-illa, -ila*. The lengthened form is due to the addition of *āka*.

(3)

-akkaꣳ

§257. This suffix makes agentive nouns.

bujhakkāꣳ ($\sqrt{\text{bujh-}}$, to understand), one who understands (cf. in Beng. the name 'Lāl Bujhkar' in 'Abhedī' by Pyārichand Mitra); **piakkāꣳ** ($\sqrt{\text{pi-}}$, to drink), a drunkard; **ghumakkāꣳ** ($\sqrt{\text{ghum-}}$, to wander), a wanderer; **bhulakkāꣳ** ($\sqrt{\text{bhuñ-}}$, to forget), one who forgets.

Origin: MIA *-akka + ꣳ*. This suffix seems to be a literary survival where *akka + ꣳ* > *akkaḍa* > *akkaꣳ*.

(4)

-atṛ

§258. This suffix is commonly found in its extended form -atā, fem. -atī. The fem. is lost to Bengālī.

urātṛ (cirāī) (\sqrt{ur} , to fly), a flying (bird); girātṛ parātṛ (\sqrt{gir} and \sqrt{par}), falling and stumbling; bahatā (pānī) (\sqrt{bah} , to run, to flow), running (water); calatā (admi) (\sqrt{cal} , to move), a smart (man); phiratī (dāk) (\sqrt{phir} , to return), return (post); lawatātī (dāk) (\sqrt{lawat} , to return), return (post).

Origin : The OIA present participle (śatr) -anta > -at.

(5)

-atī

§259. This suffix forms the abstract noun of action or manner. It exists in all north Indian languages.

calatī (\sqrt{cal} , to move), currency, fame; uṭhatī ($\sqrt{uṭh}$, to rise), rise; cukatī (\sqrt{cuk} , to settle the account), settlement; ghaṭatī (\sqrt{ghat} , to decrease), deficit; baṛhatī ($\sqrt{baṛh}$, to increase), increase; ginatī (\sqrt{gin} , to count), counting; bharatī (\sqrt{bhar} , to fill), filling up, recruiting.

Origin : -atī < -anta + ī.

(6)

(i) -anṛ

§260. This suffix forms abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense.

calanṛ, custom; chāṛan ($\sqrt{chār}$, to leave), leaving; jāran (jvalana), burning of spices; jhāranṛ ($\sqrt{jhār}$), duster; phōranṛ, (sphuṭana); beṭhanṛ (veṣṭana), a piece of cloth which is wrapped round a book; dāsanaṛ ($\sqrt{dās}$), bedding; dhākan, covering, a cover ($\sqrt{dhāk}$, to cover); bājan ($\sqrt{bāj}$ < vādyā), music.

Origin : OIA -ana.

(ii) -anā and -nā.

In origin, this is an extension of -ana suffix, -ā being added to it.

khelawanā, toys; dhakanā, cover; chananā, strainer; dēna (< dayana-), giving; lēna (< layana-), receiving; belanā, an instrument for spreading the flour into bread; oṛhanā (avaveṣṭana-), quilt; bichawanā (*vicchādana), bedding.

(iii) -anī, -nī

This is also an extension of -ana suffix. Originally, it was feminine in form (-ana + ī) but now all grammatical connection with the feminine is lost.

chāwanī (chādanikā), camp; karani (karānikā); bo-ā-nī (vapānikā), sowing; sohani (sodhanikā), weeding; caṭani (cāṭ-), sauce; oṛhani (avaveṣṭanikā), veil; chenī (chedanikā), a cutting instrument; hākanī, driver as in 'kaṭā hākanī', a woman who drives away the crow (hākkana (MIA) + ikā);

ḍhakanī (*MI* *ḍhakkana* + *ikā*), covering: **baṛhanī** (*vardhanikā*), broom-stick; **mathanī** (*manthanikā*), churning stick; **kahanī** (*kathanikā*), story; **jhulanī** (**jhullanikā*), an ornament for nose.

(7)

-antṛ (semi-tatsama)

§261. The fem. of this suffix is -antī. It is very rare in Bhoj.

calantṛ, going, as in 'u **calantṛ hō gālle**', he fled away. It also means, 'he died'. **baṛhantī** (*vardhantī*), prosperity as '**tohār baṛhantī hokhō**,' may you be prosperous.

Origin : Present participle -anta : (a literary survival) influence of Sk.

(8)

-ā

§262. This suffix indicates definiteness, coarseness, or biggishness and smallness in an object. It also shows reference or connection. Sometimes it is also pleonastic. It indicates contempt and pejority as well.

This suffix is very much productive in Bengālī and Assamese also.

(i) *Definiteness*

bakarā (*varkara*-), a he-goat; **bhērā** (*bheḍa*-), a ram; **phaguā** (*phāl-guṇa*-), a festival; **lōṭā**, a pot.

(ii) *Biggishness*

handā, a big jar; **ūcā** (*ucca*-), high; **ghūcā**, a comparatively big earthen pot for milking a cow.

(iii) *Smallness*

nīcā (*nīca*), low; **babūā**, a child.

(iv) *Connection*

jhūlā, a lady's garment; **ṭhēlā**, a push cart; **mēlā**, fair; **khēlā**, show; **dhūā** (*dhūma*-), smoke; **nōnā** or **lōnā** (*lavaṇa*-), salty.

(v) *Pleonastic*

kuwā (*kūpa*-), a well; **hāthā** (*hasta*-), an instrument for throwing water with hand; **tāwā**, a frying pan; **harnā** (*hariṇa*-), a deer.

(vi) *Pejority or Contempt*

corwā (*cōyura*-), a thief; **camarā** (*carmakāra*-), the shoe-maker; **kanwā**, the one-eyed man.

For showing contempt, the suffix is used with the proper names also, e.g.

ghurwā, **phatinganā**, etc.

Origin : OIA *āka*. Cf. Siyadoni inscription -āka in Prākṛit names which evidently ended in -ā to make them look like Sk.

(9)

-āī

§263. This suffix forms feminine action nouns from the causative or the denominative verb.

jācāī ($\sqrt{yāc}$: OIA **yācāpikā*), enquiry; carāī (\sqrt{car}), grazing; laṛāī (\sqrt{lar}), fight; paṛhāī ($\sqrt{paṛh}$: OIA $\sqrt{paṛh}$), study; agorāī (\sqrt{agor}), watching; jotāī (\sqrt{yoktra} : OIA **yoktrāpikā*), harrowing; kamāī ($\sqrt{kamā}$), earning; dhunāī (\sqrt{dhvan}), carding; slāī (\sqrt{si}), sewing; perāī (OIA \sqrt{pel}), crushing; hākāī (MIA $\sqrt{hākka}$), driving; piṭāī (MIA $\sqrt{piṭṭa}$), beating; caṛhāī, ascension; utarāī, descension; khawāī, feeding; gaṛhāī, charge for making ornaments; jaṛāī, engraving; dhowāī, washing; koṛāī, harrowing; dekhāī, seeing; pīāī (OIA \sqrt{pi}), money given for drinking wine; ḍhoāī, carrying; likhāī (OIA \sqrt{likh}), writing; mūhadekhāī, the showing of the bride's face.

Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs, e.g. rajāī, kingship, reign (*rājā*), cf. also M. Beng. *rājāi*; miṭhāī, sweetness, sweetmeat (< *miṭhā* < *miṣṭa*-); bhalāī, well-being (< *bhal* = *bhadra*-); sacāī, honesty (*sāca* = *satya*); baṛāī, prestige (*baṛ*, great); saphāī, clear (Pers. *sāf*, pure); saīāī, punishment (Pers. *sazā*), cf. M. Beng. *sājāi*.

Origin: OIA -ā-p-ikā.

(10)

-āitṛ

§264. This suffix is very rare in Bhoj.

ḍakaīṭ or ḍakāitṛ, a robber; nataīṭ or natāitṛ, a relation; sewaīṭ or sewaīṭ, a temple-priest (*sēvā*).

Origin: The origin of this suffix is the causative and denominative present participle base: OIA -āp-ant, -āy-ant > MIA *āvant*, -āant, O. Bhoj. āy/wanta > āit but ait also due to the change of the accent.

(11)

-āū

§265. This suffix is used to derive noun of agency from a root.

bikāū (OIA $\sqrt{vi-kri}$), saleable; calāū (OIA \sqrt{cal}), workable; ṭikāū ($\sqrt{ṭik}$), that which lasts for a long time; dikhāū or dekhāū (MIA \sqrt{dikkha} or \sqrt{dekkha}), showy; uṛāū (MIA $\sqrt{uṛḍḍayana}$), squanderer.

Origin: This suffix is connected with āī noted above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base -āpa + uka.

(12)

-ākṣ, -ākṣ

§266. This suffix is used to derive nouns of agency.

kahākṣ (OIA \sqrt{kath}), talker; uṛākṣ or uṛākṣ (MIA -uṛḍḍa-); laṛākṣ or laṛākṣ (OIA \sqrt{lar}), quarrelsome. The Persian *calāk* has been adopted and put within this group as *calhāk*.

Origin : Hoernle derives this suffix from *-āpaka* (§338). Thus OIA *uḍḍāpaka* > Mg. *uḍḍāvake* > *uḍḍāke* > *urākṣ* with elision of *-v-* and contraction of the hiatus vowels. But Dr. Chatterji derives it from a MIA *-ākka*.

(13)

-āṅṣ

§267. This suffix forms verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases.

calāṅṣ (*calāpana* = *calāna*), fashion, invoice; *uṭhāṅṣ* (*ut-thāpana*), growing; *milāṅṣ* (OIA \sqrt{mil}), comparison; *urāṅṣ*, causing to fly > flight (**uḍḍāpana-*).

Origin : This suffix comes from the causative OIA *-āp-ana*, *-āpana-ka* > *āvaṇaṇa* > *āvaṇa* > *āṇawa* > *āṇa* > *āṇ*.

(14)

-āpṣ, -pṣ

§268. This suffix seems to be an importation from Hindi and is found in the word *milāp* (cf. Hindi *mel-milāp*). The source appears to be OIA *-tva* > *tpa* (as in Gīrnār Inscription) which became *-ppa* > *pa* > *-pṣ* or it may come from *ātman* > *āppa* > *āpa* > *āpṣ*.

(15)

-ārṣ

§269. This suffix forms agent nouns.

camārṣ (*carmakāra*), a cobbler; *kohārṣ* (*kumbhakāra*), a potter; *gāvārṣ* (*grāmakāra*), villager; *kaḥārṣ* (*skandhakāra*), palanquin bearer; *lohārṣ* (*lāyukakāra*), blacksmith; *sonārṣ* (*svaṇakāra*), goldsmith; *piyārṣ* (*priyakāra*), beloved; *chaṭhiārṣ* (**ṣaṭtikāra*), a ceremony held on the sixth day after the birth of a child.

Origin : OIA *-kāra*.

(16)

-āri or -ārī

§270. This suffix forms agent nouns.

bhikṣārī (*bhikṣā-kārika*), a beggar; *pujārī* (*pūjā-kārika*), a priest.

Origin : OIA *-kārika*.

(17)

-āwṣ

§271. This suffix is used to form the nouns of action. Its lengthened form is *-āwā*.

caṇhāwṣ ($\sqrt{caṇh}$), ascension; *baśāwṣ* ($\sqrt{baś}$), safety; *lagāwṣ* (\sqrt{lag}), connection; *jamāwṣ* (\sqrt{jam}), crowd; *ghumāwṣ* (\sqrt{ghum}), roundabout.

The lengthened forms are:

calāwā (\sqrt{cal}), invitation; *bhulāwā* (\sqrt{bhu}), misguidance.

Origin : The source of this suffix is the causative *-āp+u+ka*.

(18)

-ā-waṭ-ṣ

§272. This suffix is a very recent one owing to the influence of Hindi. *sajāwaṭṣ*, arrangement; *likhāwaṭṣ*, writing; *tarāwaṭṣ*, coolness.

Origin : OIA *āpa + vṛtta*.

(19)

-āwanṣ

§273. This suffix forms verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases.

ḍerāwanṣ, fear; *cumāwanṣ* (OIA *cumb-*), a ceremony at the time of marriage, when women kiss the bride and bridegroom.

Origin : OIA *-āpana*.

(20)

-āsa

§274. Only a few words are formed with this suffix, e.g.

piyāsa, thirst; *mutawāsa*, a desire to make water (**mutta* < *mūtra* + *āpa* + *vasa*); *hagawās*, a desire to make stool (**haggāpa* + *vasa*); *jhapās*, a crooked man.

Origin : OIA causative base *āpa + vasa*.

(21)

-āhṣ

§275. The lengthened form of this suffix is **-ahā**, e.g.

baṭurāhṣ (*vātula-*), affected by wind-disease, a mad man; *bhadrāhṣ* (*bhādra-*), a bridegroom on whose wedding day rain falls; *ghur-clāhṣ*, a knotty man; *gurhiāhṣ*, a crooked man; *bhutāhṣ*, a terrible man; *pachimahā*, belonging to the west; *dakhinahā*, belonging to the south; *utarahā*, belonging to the north.

Origin : The origin is obscure. Dr. Sukumar Sen suggests a genitive origin, cf. Bhojpuri *sone ke thāri* (a plate of gold), *māṭi ke ghōrā* (a horse of earth) = Beng. *sonār thāl*, *māṭīr ghōrā*. In Māgadhi Pk. we have *-dha* as a genitive affix, e.g. *tāha pulisāha*. Dr. Chatterji prefers to see in it the adverbial *-dha* (Pāli *idha* = Sk. *iha*) but he admits the possibility of the genitive origin also.

(22)

-āhaṭi

§276. This suffix is mostly used with the onomatopoetic words. It also seems to be a recent borrowing from Hindi.

cilāhaṭi (*cil*, cf. Deśī *cillā*), uproar; *ghabarāhaṭi*, perplexity; *jhan-jhanāhaṭi* (MIA *jhanajhana*), jingle.

Origin : *dha + vṛtta*, *varta + ika*.

(23)

(a) -iyā

§277. This suffix is used with the sense of 'belonging to' or 'possessing'. It also helps in forming adjectives and diminutives.

(i)

baniyā (*vanika*+ā), a merchant; **jaliyā** (*jālika*+ā), cheat; **nagpurīyā** (*nāgapurika*+ā), of Nagpur; **bhojpuriyā** (*bhojapurika*+ā), of Bhojpur; **oṛiyā** (*āuḍrika*+ā), of Orissa.

(ii) *Adjectives*

baṛhiyā, well; **ghaṭiyā**, deficient.

(iii) *Diminutives*

purīyā, a small packet; **phoṛiyā**, a small boil; **dibiyā**, a small box.

Origin: OIA *ika* > MIA *-ia*+the suffix *-ā*.

(b) -iyā

The suffix denotes 'one who is accustomed to do a thing', and is an extension of the above.

jaṛiyā, an engraver; **dhuniyā**, one who cards cotton; **niariyā**, a caste.

(24)

(i) -ī

§278. This suffix goes back to OIA *-ikā*, reinforced by Persian *-ī* (adjectival and connective). It also forms feminine and diminutive, e.g. **dāmī**, costly; **bhārī**, heavy; **sāghātī**, a companion; **dāgī** (Pers. *dāgh*+ī); **hisābī**, an accountant (Arabic *hisāb*+ī); **an(g)uṭhī** (*aṅguṭhikā*), a ring (connected with finger); **kanṭhī** (*kaṇṭhikā*), a rosary (connected with neck); **teli** (**taḷlika*), an oilman; **tamolī** (*tāmbulika*), a betelman.

(ii) -ī

This is a very common feminine suffix of NIA, e.g.

ghōṭikā > ***ghōṭiā** > **ghōṛī**, a mare; **bārī** (*vāṭikā*), a garden.

(iii) -ī (diminutive)

kaṭārī (Dēśī *kaṭārī* < **kaṭārīā*), a small dagger; **ḍholkī** (**ḍholla* < Dēśī *ḍhaḍholla*), a small drum; **pokharī** (MIA *pokkhariā*, OIA *puṣkarīni*-), a small tank; **churī** (*kṣurikā*), a small knife; **jātī** (*yantrikā*), a small machine for killing rats; **kiyārī** (*kedārīkā*), a small bed of flowers; **cimṭī** (**cimma-vaṭṭikā*), a small pair of tongs.

(25)

-iyārā

§279. A few examples of this suffix are found in Bhoj. It is, however, very productive in Assamese.

adhiyārā (*ardha + ika + kāra*), half-sharer; **hatiyārā** (*hatyā + ika + kāra*), one who slays others.

Origin : OIA -ika + kāra.

(26)

-ilā

§280. This suffix is chiefly used to derive adverbial adjectives, i.e. adjectives expressing place or time.

agilā (**agrilāka, agrilla-āka*), the first; **pachilā** (**paścilāka, pacchilla-*), last; **majhilā** (**madhyilāka, majjhilla-*), the middle one; **pahilā** (**prathilāka, pahilla*), the first; **bicilā** (Ap. *bicilla* < *vṛtya* > *viccu- + illa* = *viccilla-*), the middle one.

Origin : The source of this suffix which occurs in all NIA is OIA -ilāka, MIA -illa-a.

(27)

-ī

§281. The suffix is used with fem. ordinal numbers.

paca-ī, one-fifth; **chaṭhaī** one-sixth; **sata-ī**, one-seventh; **aṭha-ī**, one-eighth; **dasaī**, one-tenth.

Origin : Fem. ordinal suffix OIA -mika.

(28)

-u

§282. This suffix is used with a few words only. There is no consciousness of root and affix in these NIA forms.

lāṛu (*laṛḍḍū*), a kind of sweetmeat; **bhālu** (*bhallu*), a bear.

(29)

-uā

§283. This suffix is very common.

kharuā (*kṣāruka-*), grey cloth; **ṭahaluā**, a servant; **banhuā**, a prisoner; **satua** (*saktu-*), the flour of grain; **bhatuā**, a kind of gourd; **māṛuā** (*maṇḍuka-*), a kind of plant.

Origin : OIA -uka + āka.

(30)

-uṭṛ

§284. This affix means the 'son of'.

rāuṭṛ (*rāja-putra*), the title of the cowherd caste; **mamiāuṭṛ** (*māmikā-putra*), the son of the maternal aunt; **phuphuāuṭṛ**, the son of the father's sister; **pitīāuṭṛ**, the son of the uncle; **maṁsiāuṭṛ** (*māṇṣvād-putra*), the son of mother's sister.

Origin : OIA -putra > *putta* > *utta* > *uṭṛ*.

(31)

-ū

§285. The suffix can be traced back to OIA *-uka* (adjectival and nominal).

khāū ($\sqrt{khād} + uka$), one who eats (much); **utaru** ($*uttāraka$), angry, against; **bigārū**, spoiler, probably from W.H.; **qākū**, robber; **paharū**, watchman; **jhārū**, broom.

(32)

-erā

§286. The following are the examples:—

luṭerā, a thief, probably from W.H.; **lamerā**, crop grown out of itself without sowing; **ṭhaṭherā**, a brazier.

Origin : MIA *-garā* < OIA *karā + ā*.

(33)

§287. **-eḷā**, **-elā** < MIA *-illa* from OIA pleonastic and adjectival affix *-ila*, forming nouns and adjectives.

adhelā, one-half of a pice; **akelā**, **akelā**, alone; **baghelā**, **baghelā** (*vaggha* < *vyāghra*-), tiger-like; **mathelā**, **mathelā** (*mattha* < *musta*-), a piece of wood on the upper part of the door.

(34)

§288. **-olā** < MIA *-ulla* forming nouns (diminutives).

khaṭolā, a small cot; **amolā**, a tender sapling of mango.

(35)

(i) **-kṣ**, **-akṣ**, **-lṣ**, **-ukṣ**

§289. This affix is primarily employed to form nouns (abstract, concrete or onomatopoeitic) generally from verb roots.

ṭanakṣ, a noise of striking (cf. Beng. *ṭan-akṣ*, *ṭanḍ*, sense of tightness; $\sqrt{ṭān}$, pull), **jhal-akṣ** (*jhalakka*), a flame; **sarakṣ**, road, highway; **phāṭ-akṣ**, gate (cf. $\sqrt{phāt}$, split); **aṭ-akṣ**, hindrance (cf. Beng. *aṭ-akṣ*, confinement, *āṭṣ*, obstruction); **baṭṭh-akṣ**, drawing-room (*baṭṭha* < *upaviṣṭa*); **phūkṣ**, puffing, blowing (cf. *phutkāra*); **cilhilṣ**, slow but sharp pain; **cukṣ**, mistake; **surukṣ** (cf. Beng. *sur-ukṣ*), sound of quick motion.

The MIA forms of the affix would be *-akka*-; *ṭanakka*, *jhalakka*, *uvaiṭṭhakka*. In Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as *khuḍukkai* (= *śalyāyate*), *ghuḍukkai* (= *garjti*). Following the indication of the Prākṛit grammarians, the MIA *-akṣ*- and the MIA *-akka*- can be well affiliated to an OIA compounding of a root or its participle base in *-a(n)t-* with *kṛta*, $\sqrt{kṛ}$: **camakṣ** (also **caṭṭakṣ**) < MIA *camakka*, *camakkā*, *camakkia* < OIA *camat-kṛta*; so **cukṣ** (*cyut-kṛta*). A connection with OIA *-aka*-, apparently introduced as a *ts*, in Second and Late MIA (the phonetic of which changed it to *-akka*-), can also well be inferred, e.g. MIA (Māgadhī) *haḍakka* = *hṛd-a-ka*; *haḡge* = $*ahakke$ = *ahakam* < *aham*; *leḍ(h)ukka* = *leṣṭuka*; *ṇḍakka* = *nḍyaka*, etc.

It has also been suggested by Bloch that the affix in part goes back to the OIA adjectival and pleonastic *-kya* as in *pārakya* < *para-* (cf. also *māṇikya* < *maṇi*). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the *-kk-* (also *-k-*, *-g-*) affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from roots, e.g. $\sqrt{\text{naḍ}}$, to walk > *naḍ-akka-ai*, *naḍ-akk-al*, *naḍ-akk-udal*, walking; $\sqrt{\text{iru}}$ to be, *irukkai*, being.

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from *kṛta* and other forms of $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$. There seems also to have been present the influence of the Sk. affix *-a-ka-* which was Prākṛitized into *-akka*. And it is not improbable that in MIA times a *-kk-*, *-g-*, *-k-* affix existed in north Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by *IA*), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of *-akka* in MIA of the Second and Third stages.

The *-ikṣ-*, *-ukṣ-* forms seem to be due to vowel harmony, the *-ā-* changing to *-i-*, *-u-* when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extension of *-kṣ-*, *-akṣ* in Bhojpuri *-akā*, i.e. *-akṣ + -ā*: adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness: *phaṭākā*, an instrument for carding cotton; *kaṭākā*, a small stick; *haṭākā*, *daṭākā*, hurt on account of up and down movement of a cart or a carriage; *haṛākā*, injury; *hurākā*, a kind of country drum; *dhudhākā*, a trumpet, etc.

-akī, *-ṣkī*: with adjectival *-ī*: *baīṭhākī*, of good society < belonging to the drawing-room.

-ṣkī, *-kī* < *-akī*: feminine diminutive pleonastic; e.g. *khirākī*, a small door; *ṭimṣkī*, a small drum.

The affix *-ākṣ* in forms like *taṛākṣ*, with a sudden sound; *paṛākṣ*, with a crack; *kaṛākṣ*, with a crackling sound; *saṛākṣ*, with a quick glide, etc., which is used to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the *-akṣ* affix, the base apparently being a strong form in *ā*.

(36)

(ii) *-ṣkṣ-*, *-ṣkā*, *-ṣkī*

§290. This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically: it is also found in the strong form in *-kā* with its feminine *kī*.

Examples:—*dhenukṣ*, bow (*dhaṇukka*, *dannuṣka*), cf. Beng. *dhanukṣ*, the change of a *o* to *e* in Bhojpuri is possibly due to the word *dhienu*, a cow, which is so common; *gaḍākā*, Indian club (< ts. *gaḍā*); *baṛākī*, eldest (daughter or daughter-in-law); *majhilākā*, the middle one; *choṭākī*, the youngest daughter or daughter-in-law.

This affix would seem to be the Sk. pleonastic and adjectival *-ka-* introduced into Second and Late MIA as a ts. form, and normally becoming *-kka-*. In Māgadha, it seems to have been used for the genitive as in Oṛiyā *puruṣaṇi-ka*, men's, and in early and dialectical Bengālī as well. In the other NIA languages, like western HINDI, however, the genitive affix *-kā*, *kau*, etc., seems to have come from *kaa* < *kṛta* but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resuscitated OIA affix. An adjective-genitive use of *-kka* is found also in Śaurasēṇī Apabhraṃśa as in Hēmacandra: e.g. *bappi-kī bhūmhaḍī* (= *paṭṭī-kī bhūmīḥ*). In the Avahatṭha of the 'Prākṛta Paṇḍala', the *-ka* for the adjective-genitive figures largely.

(37)

-awaṭi

§291. It represents OIA *paṭṭikā* forming nouns.

kasawaṭi (*karṣa-paṭṭikā*), the assaying stone; **cunawaṭi** (*cūrṇa-paṭṭikā*), a small box containing lime.

(38)

-aurṣ

§292. This suffix is used with a few words only.

hathaurṣ, cf. Bengālī *hāturi*, a hammer; **laṭhaura**, a caste.

Origin : OIA *-kūṣa*.

(39)

-ṭhṣ, -ṭhā

§293. These represent OIA *avasthā* indicating state, form, appearance
> MIA *avatthā*, *avaṭṭhā* (cf. MIA *avaṭṭhāṇa*) > NIA *aṭha*, *-ṭha*, *ṭhā*, e.g.

purāṭh (*pur-*), mature; **pakaṭhā** (*pakva-avasthā*), ripe; **sukaṭhā** (*śuṣka-avasthā*), dry; **lakaṭhā**, burnt.

(40)

-ṛa, -ṛi

§294. This suffix indicates habit, profession or some sort of connection.

khelwāṛṣ, play; **bhāgaṛṣ**, a stagnant pool; **bhāgeṛi**, one who indulges in 'bhāg'; **gājeṛi**, one who indulges in 'gājā'.

Origin : The source of this *-ṛa* would seem to be the OIA \sqrt{vr} in a form like '*vrā*' (work, labour, movement) found in Rigveda which would give a MIA **vaṛa* > *vaṛā* > *vaṛa*. By extension with *-ī* < *ika*, we get *-ṛi*.

Examples :—**agāṛi**, *agra-vāṛa-ika*, the forward movement; **pichāṛi**, the backward movement.

(41)

-ṛā

§295. This comes from a late OIA and early MIA *vāṛa*, enclosure, which is found in Sanskrit as a 'guṇa' formation from *vaṛa* < *vr-ta* < \sqrt{vr} , to cover, to enclose.

Examples :—**akhāṛā** (*akṣa+vāṛa-*), an enclosed ground for physical exercise; **tamaṛā** (*tāmravāṛa(ka)*), a copper vessel; in **khuwāṛṣ** (*khu+vāṛa*), an enclosure for stray cattle; **khu** = (Pers. *Xuḡ*) cf. *śūkara*, swine.

(42)

-ṛa, -ṛā, -ṛi

§296. It is a pleonastic affix derived from *-ḍa-* which was widely used in late MIA, e.g. *vaccha-ḍa* (*vateṣa*); *diaha-ḍa* (*divasa*); *gōra-ḍi* (*gōṛi*), etc.

We also find in Hēmacandra, *dukkha-ḍ-ā*, cf. Hindi *dukhāṛā* (*duḥkha*). The *-ḍa* affix seems to have come into special prominence in the spoken dialects of northern India in the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA but the remains of first transitional and second MIA do not use it lavishly; and in third MIA literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prākṛit 'Kāvyaś', it is not so common either. The Ap. verses in Hēmacandra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the *-ḍ-* words are so much in evidence there. All NIA speeches show numerous forms with *-ḍa* > *-ṛ* and some kinds of NIA, e.g. the Rājasthānī dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The second and third MIA *-ḍa* rests on a first MIA *-ṭa* which would normally represent an OIA *-ṭu* (or a dental *-ta-* with or without a 'r' or 'ṛ' to cerebralize it). In Sk., we have a number of words with a *-ṭa-* affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like *markaṭa* undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhist times, e.g. *markaṭa* (regarded as being Dravidian in origin); *parka-ṭi*; *kukkūṭa*; *lakuṭa* > *lagu-ḍa*, etc. This *-ṭa* is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA, can reasonably be expected to have an OIA source. It seems quite possible that this *-ṛa* < *-ḍa* < *-ṭa* is only a form of a *-ta-*, undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney: Sanskrit Grammar, §1176, §1245; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, §209), e.g. *eka-tā*, *dvi-tā*, *tri-tā*, *muhūr-tā*, *raja-tā*, *parva-ta*. Some sense of connection with or modification of the original idea is implied by this *-ta-*, which also is not absent in NIA *-ṛa-*. By spontaneous cerebralization *-ta* can very well give *-ṭa* in dialectical OIA and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA *vibhūtaka* (beside *vibhūtaka*) > **vibhī-ṭa-ka* > MIA *bahēḍaa* > NIA *bahērā*; OIA *āmṛā-ta-ka* > **āmṛā-ṭa-ka* > MIA *ambāḍaa* > NIA *āmṛārā*; and OIA *śṛṅg-ā-ta-ka*, *śṛṅg-ā-ṭa-ka* > NIA *sigārā*. Throughout the whole history of IA, *ta* > *-ṭa* > *-ḍa* > *-ṛa* would seem to have been fairly common in the spoken language; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA affixes in the second NIA stage, the *-ḍa* affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in *-ḍi*, Sanskritized to *-ṭa* during the second and third MIA periods, would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.D.

The affix *-ṛu* is found in the old Bengālī of caryā, e.g. *ṇāva-ṛi* (*nāva*) (caryā 10, 20); *bāpu-ṛā kāpālīka* (caryā 10). In Middle Bengālī, too, we find *ḍiyārī*, lamp (cf. Bhojpuri *ḍiyārī*), *mākaṛā* (*markaṭa*).

In Bhojpuri, *-ṛā*, *-ṛī*, is found in a few words, but in many cases it figures as *-rā*, *-rī*, e.g.

camārā (*carma*), hide, skin; *jhaḡārā*, quarrel; *āṭārī*, entrails; *mohaṛā* < *muhaṛā* (*mukha*), vanguard; *kewaṛā*, optionally *kewārā*, cf. Bengālī *kēṛā* (*kētaka*); *ciurā*, optionally *ciurā*, cf. Bengālī *cīṛā*, *cīṛā*, flattened rice; *bagārā*, a young goat which obstructs the way (*vyāghāta* + *ṛā*); *kāṭhārā*, a flat vessel made of wood (*kāṭha*); *gāṭhārī*, baggage (*granthi*); *tukārā*, optionally *tukārā*, cf. Hindi *tukṛā*, a piece; *caṅ(g)erī*, a small basket; *peṭārī*, a box; *goyārā*, the neighbourhood of a village; *lugārī*, a piece of cloth, etc.

(43)

-tā

§297. This suffix is derived from OIA *-antaḥ*. It is very rare, e.g. **raita** (*rājika-antaḥ*), a vegetable preparation with mustard and curd; **bhawātā** (*bhrama-antaḥ*), trickery.

(44)

-ni, -ini

§298. These are feminine affixes (also cf. §358) and are common to all Māgadhan speeches. Their origin has been thoroughly discussed in ODBL, §445. They seem reminiscent of OIA *-nī*, *-ānī* but they are derived from a different source. Practically no form in NIA has come down with *-nī*, *-ānī* of OIA. The OIA attributive suffix *-in*, giving the feminine nominative singular *-inī*, supplied to MIA numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by *-inī*, especially when the nominative came to be used for all cases in the masculine, the *-in* of the base being totally lost. This *-inī* (*ini*) was partly generalized and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong and when added to masculine nouns in *-a*, the *-i* was dropped, making it *-a-nī*. NIA thus inherited this *-inī*, *-anī* (*-inī*, *-anī*), although more restricted in use than *-ī* from late MIA. (For examples of this suffix see §358 under Gender.)

(45)

-rū

§299. Originally implying 'similarity, intensity', from OIA *-rūpa*, form, shape > MIA *-rūva*, this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA in which it occurs in only a few words, e.g.

gōrū (*gō-rūpa*), cattle; **gabharū** (*garbha-rūpa*), childlike; **paṭharū** (MIA **paṭṭha-rūpa*), kid; **meharū** (*mahilā-rūpa*), woman; **bacharū** (*vaśa-rūpa*), calf; **paṛarū** (*paṭṭh-rūpa*), a buffalo-calf, cf. Gujrātī *pārō*, *pārī* and north Bengālī *pārō*; **kawārū** (*kāma-rūpa*), the west Assam.

(46)

-lā, -lā, -li

§300. *lā* and its extensions. This affix goes back to OIA *-la* (participial, adjectival and pleonastic), e.g.

phāṭal, torn; **khedal**, driven; **rākhal**, kept; **pākal** (*pakva-*), ripe; **nāthal**, with bored nose.

-lā : **adhelā** (*ardha-*), half-piece; **cakalā** (*cakra-*), a piece.

-li : **bijuli** (MIA *viṣṭulīa*, OIA *vidyut* + *-la* + *-ikā*), lightening; **khaḷuli**, itches; **tikulī**, spangle or ornament worn on the forehead (MIA *tikkalikā*), the 'u' is due to the 'u' of *ṭikurī*, Gujrātī *takalī* < *tarku-*, a spindle.

(47)

-wāṛa

§301. This is connected with OIA *pāl-* which becomes *wālā* and *wāṛa* both, e.g.

(i) -wālā

prayāgwālā, the priest of Prayāg (Allahabad); gayāwālā, the priest of Gayā; kasiwālā, the priest of Kāśī (Banāras); kotwālā (*koṭṭa-pāla*), cf. *koṭāl* in Bengālī. But in Bhojpuri the word kotwālā is an importation from W.H. where it is a loan-word from Persian.

(ii) -wārā

rakhwārā (*rakṣā-pāla*), a watchman; donwārā (*drōṇa-pāla*), a Rājput caste; kinwārā (*kiṇa-pāla*), a Rājput caste.

(48)

-wālā

§302. This suffix is a borrowing from the western Hindī. Its origin is *-pāla-ka* and it has now a very extensive application, e.g.

ṭōpiwālā, the man with cap; gāṛī-wālā, the man with cart; hāthī-wālā, the man with elephant; paharā-wālā, the man on watch.

(49)

-wā, -wī, -ī

§303. The origin of this suffix is ordinal *-ma-ka* (privative). For its examples see §403 under Ordinals.

(50)

-sā, -sī

§304. The affix, meaning 'likeness, similarity, resemblance', is derived by Hoernle from OIA *sadyśa* (Gaudian Grammar, §292) but Dr. Chatterji derives it from OIA *-śa* which is found in Sk. words like *lōma-śa*, *kapi-śa*, *karka-śa*, *yuva-śa*, etc. (ODBL, §450).

Examples:—āpasā (**ātma-śa*), friends; ghāmasā (*gharma-śa*), sultry; jhāpa-sā, hazy.

The same affix is found in words like *bapasī*, father; *jhapasī*, incessant rain, etc.

(51)

-sarā, -sarā

§305. This affix is derived by Hoernle from OIA past. part. pass. *śṛtaḥ* (Gaudian Grammar, §271) but Dr. Chatterji derives it from OIA *sara* < $\sqrt{\text{sr}}$, moving. The affix forms ordinals and a few other adjectives in modern and old Bhojpuri, e.g.

ekasarā, alone; dosarā, second; tisarā, third (cf. *ekasara calanā dosara nahi sātha*—Dharnidāsa).

This affix is also present in middle Bengālī: *ekasara*, *dosara*, *tesara*. The corresponding feminine forms in Bhoj. are *ekasari*, *dosari*, etc.

(52)

-haṅā

§306. The adjectival suffix *-haṅā*, and *-haṅā* are difficult to explain. There appears to be the case of double suffixing. Thus the origin of *-haṅā*

seems to be MIA *-ha* (< *-bha* $\sqrt{bhā}$, to appear) + OIA *-na*, cf. MIA *-tana* < OIA *-tvana* = *-tva* + *-na*, also cf. *mahitvanā* in RVS., I, 85-7. Its examples in Bhoj. are:—

ekahang, complete or great (e.g. **ekahang pāji**, a complete or great scoundrel); **bia-hang**, seed-corn; **bara-hang**, great; **choṭa-hang**, small; **jaṛa-hang**, winter-rice; **khana-hang**, light.

(53)

-hang

§307. The origin of this suffix appears to be MIA *-h* + OIA *-r* (as in *madhu-ra*, etc.). Its examples in Bhojpuri are:—

lama-harg, long; **phara-harg**, swift; **chara-harg**, thin and active; **harg-harg**, great (e.g. **harg-harg māhur**, great poison).

(54)

-harg

§308. The origin of this suffix is OIA *-hāra* < \sqrt{hr} , meaning 'to carry'; cf. *udahāryaḥ* in Mādhyandina Samhitā, 16.7. Examples in Bhojpuri are:—

curihārg, the bangle-maker; **manihārg**, the seller of glass things; **karnī-hārg**, a doer; **paṛhnī-hārg**, a reader, **rahani-hārg**, an inhabitant.

(55)

-hārā

§309. It occurs in a few words like **ekahārā**, **dohārā**, **tehārā**, to mean 'fold'. The word **dōhārā** also means stout, robust, double-sized. It also occurs in Bengālī. The source appears to be the Sk. *hāra* meaning division, portion.

Foreign Suffixes

Persian suffixes and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bhoj. are given below:

(56)

-ānā

§310. This suffix means 'pertaining to', 'having the nature of'. The source of this is Persian *-ānah*, e.g.

babuānā, the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness; **gharānā**, pertaining to families.

The suffix is very prominent in Persian loan-words, e.g. **jurmānā**, fines; **sukrānā**, reward; **najrānā**, present; **sallānā**, yearly payment.

(57)

-khānā

§311. The meaning of this suffix is place or abode. Its source is Persian *ānāh*.

chāpākhānā, printing press; **dawākhānā**, dispensary; **ḍāk-khānā**, post office.

(58)

-khor

§312. The meaning of this suffix is 'cater' or 'addicted to'. The source is Persian *-xōr*.

ghushkhōr, one who takes bribes; **nasākhōr**, one who is addicted to intoxication; **gamkhōr**, a man who forbears; **karajkhōr**, one who is in the habit of taking debts.

(59)

-gar

§313. The meaning of this suffix in Bhoj. is 'possessing' or 'having'. The source is Persian *-gar*. The suffix is also popular in Maithili as in words *hathagar*, *goragar* (cf. *hari puni hathagar*, *goragar bhēl*, Vidvāpati). The examples in Bhoj. are:—

ākhigar, a sorcerer (possessing eyes which can see even spirits and ghosts); **kārigar**, artisan; **jādugar**, magician; **kāṭagar**, thorny; **hathagar**, possessing hands or able to use hands; **goragar**, able to use the feet.

(60)

-giri

§314. The meaning of this suffix is 'business', 'craft', 'trade', 'manners' and 'ways'. The source is Pers. *-garī*, e.g.

hābūgiri, the ways of a gentleman; **kuligiri**, the business of a labourer.

(61)

-cā

§315. **-cā** < Turkish *-cā* through Persian, e.g.

bagālcā, garden; **bakucā**, a bundle tied on the back (Turki *bugcā*), cf. also Beng. *bōck* 7.

(62)

-cī

§316. The meaning of this suffix is 'bearer' or 'holder'. The source is Pers. *-cī* < Turki *-cī*, *-jī*.

tabalcī, one who plays on a musical instrument; **masālcī**, a torch-bearer; **khajāncī**, treasurer; **babarcī**, cook.

(63)

-dān, -dānī

§317. The meaning of this suffix is 'receptacle'. The source is Pers. *-dān* or *-dānī*.

kalamdān, penstand; **atardān**, scent bottle; **dhupdānī**, incense burner; **nasdānī**, snuff box; **ugaldān**, a pot to spit.

(64)

-dār

§318. The meaning of this suffix is 'holder' or 'one in charge of'. The origin is Pers. *-dār*.

īmāndār, honest; **ījatdār**, a man of prestige; **dokāndār**, a shop-keeper; **caūkidār**, a watchman; **paṭṭidār**, a partner; **jamīdār**, a landlord; **samujhdār**, a wise man; **chaṛīdār**, a red-bearer.

(65)

-nawīsā

§319. The meaning of this suffix is a 'writer'. The source is Pers. *-nawīs*.

nakalnawīsā, a copyist.

(66)

-band, -bandī

§320. The source of this suffix is Persian *-band*, e.g.

ciṭṭhā-band, entered in a ledger; **peṭārāband**, shut inside a chest; **jild-bandī**, book-binding; **jamā-bandī**, record of revenue, etc.

(67)

-bājā

§321. The meaning of this suffix is 'accustomed to do a thing'. The abstract noun is formed by adding an *-ī* to the suffix. The source is Pers. *-bāz*.

dhokhābāj, a swindler; **dagābāj**, a cheat; **mukadmābāj**, a litigant; **laūḍābāj**, one addicted to unnatural offence; **raṇḍībāj**, a visitor of prostitutes, a characterless man.

The abstract nouns are:—

dhokhābājī, swindling; **dagābājī**, cheating; **mukadmābājī**, litigation; **luccābājī**, riotous living.

(68)

-wān

§322. The meaning of this suffix is 'possessing'. The source is Pers. *-wān, bīn*.

kocwān, English *coachman* also influenced the word; **darwān**, a watchman at the gate; **gaṛīwān**, cartman.

B. PREFIXES

I. Prefixes of Native Origin

Tadbhava and Tatsama

Bhojpuri has a few prefixes which are living ones, employed in forming words. The following are the *tb.* and *ts.* prefixes found in use :

(1)

a-, ā- (Privative)

§323. OIA initial *a-* normally remained *a-* but sometimes it became *ā-*, e.g.

abōdhṛ, foolish; *acetṛ*, senseless; *anūṅṛ*, not salted; *akājṛ*, hindrance, loss; *aberi*, late; *āthāhā*, fathomless (cf. *sthāman*); *ālagā*, separate (*alagna*).

(2)

an-

§324. OIA *ana-* > *an-* in Bhoj.

anbhalṛ, evil; *anginatṛ*, countless.

(3)

ati-

§325. The OIA prefix *ati-* remains intact in Bhoj., e.g.

atiantaḥ, excessive; *aṭikāl*, late.

(4)

awa-, aya-, a-,

§326. OIA initial *ava-* > *awa-*, *aya-* and *a-* in Bhoj., e.g.

ayāgunṛ (*avaguna*), defect; *alam* or *awalam* (*avalamba*), protection.

(5)

ku-, ka

§327. Pejorative from OIA *ku-*. It means something bad.

kucālṛ, bad ways; *kumārgī*, one who goes on evil path; *kukarmī*, an evil-doer; *ku-khetṛ*, bad field or place; *ku-nagar*, a bad village; *kapūt*, bad son.

(6)

du; dū

§328. OIA *dur-* remains *dur-* in ts. but becomes *du-*, *dū-* in tb. It means bad, weak, etc.

durācārṛ, wickedness; *dūbarṛ* < *durbala*, weak. In *dulāra* < *du + lāra* (Hindī *lāra*, love, OIA *lāṛa* as in *lāṛa pyārā*), the prefix means more, much.

(7)

ni-

§329. OIA prefix *nir-* > *ni-* in Bhoj., e.g.

nirōḡ, free from disease, healthy; *ni-lajj*, shameless; *ni-kharal*, dry; *ni-kammā*, a man of no use; *ni-dharak*, bold; *ni-hang*, naked, shameless; *ni-phal*, fruitless.

(8)

su-, sa-

§330. OIA *su-* meaning 'good' remains in Bhoj., but sometimes it is changed to *sa-*.

suphal, resulting in good; **sapūt** < *suputra*, good son, through influence of **kapūt**.

II. Foreign Prefixes

Perso-Arabic

(1)

kam-

§331. The source is Persian *kam-* meaning little.

kam-asal, base-born; **kam-umīrī**, minor; **kam-khoī**, bad; **kam-jōr**, weak.

(2)

khus-

§332. The source of this prefix is Persian *rust-*, good, happy, e.g.

khus-i-hālī (with an intrusive *-i-*), happy circumstances; **khus-dīl**, cheerful; **khus-āmad**, flattery.

(3)

gar-, gayar-

§333. The origin of this prefix is Perso-Arabic *gair-*, 'without', e.g.

garhājīrī or **gayar-hājīrī** < *gajrhāzīr*, absence; **gayar jagah** < *gair jagah*, other place; **gair ābād** or **gayar-ābād**, uncultivated.

(4)

dar-

§334. The source of this prefix is Persian *dar-* meaning 'within', e.g.

darbār, court; **dar-kār**, necessary; **dar-māhā**, salary.

(5)

nā-

§335. The source is the negative Persian prefix *nā-*, e.g.

nāpatā, untraced; **nā-bālik**, minor; **nā-ummedī**, disappointment; **nā-pasann**, rejected; **nā-lāyak**, worthless.

(6)

phī-

§336. The origin of this prefix in Perso-Arabic *fi-* meaning 'each', e.g.

phī-hāl, now; **phī dukān**, each shop; **phī ādmī**, each man; **phī rupayā**, per rupee.

(7)

bad-

§337. The source of this prefix is Persian *bad-* meaning 'bad', e.g.

bad-jāti, low-born; **bad-nām**, bad name; **bad-calan**, a man of bad character; **bad-rāh**, one who follows bad path.

(8)

bē-

§338. The source of this prefix is Persian *bē-* meaning 'without'. It is also used pejoratively, e.g.

bē-cāl, of bad character; **bē-hāth**, out of reach; **bē-ṭāin**, improper time; **bē-dhaṛak**, dauntless; **bē-ḡhab**, strange; **bē-cain**, restless; **bē-jān**, weak.

This prefix is used with participles also, e.g.

bē-kuṭal, without being sliced; **bē-pisal**, without being grounded; **bē-bowal**, without being sown.

(9)

har-

§339. The source of this prefix is Persian *har-* meaning 'each', 'every', e.g.

har-bār, every time; **har-jagah**, every place; **har-ghaṛī**, each hour; **har-roj**, every day; **har-dīn**, daily; **har-boliā**, a jester < *har+bolā*-, cf. Beng. *harā-bōlā*, a ventriloquist.

English

§340. The English words *head*, *half* and *sub-* are used in a number of compound forms in Bhoj. words and have almost become prefixes:

heḍ-panḍit, **heḍ-māhṭar** < *head master*; **hāph-kamlī**, *half shirt*; **hāph-ṭikāṭh**, *half ticket*; **sab-diptī** < *sub-deputy*; **sab-rajistār** < *sub-registrar*.

CHAPTER II

COMPOUNDS

§341. Compounding of words is a very remarkable characteristic of Indo-European and this character has been fully maintained in Bhojpuri. The Sanskrit compounds classification also holds good to a large extent for Bhojpuri. Below is attempted a classification of Bhojpuri compounds. In this, I have followed the guidance of Dr. Chatterji in his 'Bengali Grammar'.

§342. Bhojpuri compounds fall into three principal classes :—

- (i) Copulative or Collective or Dvandwa, of which the members are syntactically co-ordinate; a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction 'and'.
- (ii) Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter as its determining or qualifying adjunct. This can be subdivided into the following heads :—

(a) Tatpuruṣa or Determinatives with one element governing another.

(b) Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinatives.

(c) Dwigu or Numeral Determinatives.

- (iii) Bahuvrīhi or Attributive compounds. [Dr. Chatterji has termed it 'varṇanā-mūlaka' (Possessive, Relative or Descriptive or Secondary Descriptive compounds).]

This compound consists of two or more nouns in apposition to each other, the attributive member being placed first and denotes or refers to something else than what is expressed by its members. It generally attributes that which is expressed by its second member, determined or modified by what is denoted by its first member, to something denoted by neither of the two.

Bahuvrīhi, again, has four subdivisions, viz. (i) 'Vyādhi-karaṇa Bahuvrīhi', (ii) 'Samānādhikaraṇa Bahuvrīhi', (iii) 'Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi' (Reciprocal) and (iv) 'Madhyapadālōpi Bahuvrīhi'.

§343. Copulative or Collective or Dvandwa compounds.

- (a) (i) Where two members are joined.

Examples :—māi-bāp, mother-father; bhāi-bāp, brother-father; bhāi-bahini, brother-sister; bahin-mahatāri, sister-mother; larikā-mehrārū, son-wife; larikā-lariki, son-daughter; sasur-damād, father-in-law-son-in-law; sāsu-patoḥ, mother-in-law-daughter-in-law; bēṭā-patoḥ, son-daughter-in-law; hāth-gōṛ, hand-feet; dāl-bhāt, pulse-cooked rice; dahi-bhāt, curd-cooked rice; ciurā-dahi, flattened rice-curd; nūn-tēl, salt-oil; ānhar-kān, blind-one-eyed; rāti-din, night-day; din-rāti, day-night; sājh-bihān, evening-morning; hāri-patuki (two kinds of earthen pots); lōhā-lakkar, iron-wood; mas-māchi, mosquito-fly; khāṭā-miṭhā, sour-sweet; āju-kālhi, today-tomorrow; dūdh-dahi, milk-curd;

sighī-barārī (two kinds of fishes); **gōrū-bacharū**, cattle-calf; **gāl-bayal**, cow-bullock; **pārā-pārī**, he-calf-buffalo-she-calf-buffalo; **niman-bāur**, good-bad; **āil-gail**, coming-going; **bilō-bāṭ**, partition-division; **marad-mehrārū**, husband-wife; **rājā-parjā**, king-subject; **dhōbī-nāū**, washerman-barber; **lābh-hāni**, profit-loss; **bāhar-bhitar**, outside-inside; **khētī-bārī**, agriculture-gardening; **kam-bēsī**, less-more; **rājā-rānī**, king-queen; **cān-suruj**, moon-sun; **rājā-ojīr**, king-minister; **nāphā-nuksān**, profit-loss; **okil-mukhtār**, **vakil-mukhtār**; **thānā-pulis**, police-station-police; **okil-baleštar**, **vakil-barrister**; **hisāb-pattar**, account-letter; **hisāb-kitāb**, account-book; **ḍākṭar-bayad**, doctor-vaidya, etc.

(ii) In a few cases, more than two words are joined, e.g.

hāth-gōr-nāk-kān, hand-feet-nose-ear; **nun-tēl-lakarī**, salt-oil-wood; **jirā-marici-dhaniyā** (three spices); **hāthī-ghōrā-palkī**, elephant-horse-palanquin.

(iii) A few Dwandwa compounds have come down from Sanskrit. These still follow the rules of Sanskrit grammar, e.g.

When words ending in **-ṛ** and implying relationship by blood or literary avocation are compounded together, the last but one word changes its **-ṛ** to **-ā** as in **māṭṛ-pitṛ** > **mātā-pitā**, similarly **pitṛ-putra** > **pitā-putra**.

(b) **Aluk-Dwandwa**.

When the intermediate members retain case-endings, the compounds are called 'Aluk'. Like Bengālī, in Bhojpuri too, we find a good many 'Aluk-Dwandwa' compounds, e.g.

āge-pāchē or **pīchē**, forward-backward; **hāṭe-bāṭē**, in market-in path; **dudhe-bhātē**, in milk-in cooked rice; **ghare-ḍuārē**, in house-in door, etc.

(c) **Dwandwa compounds, meaning 'et cetera'.**

(i) When two words of same form and of the same import are compounded, e.g.

kām-kāj, work; **dhar-pakar**, arrest; **jīw-jantu**, beast; **bhūl-cūk**, error; **ghar-bārī**, house; **māth-mūṛ**, head; **laūri-lāthī**, stick; **baṣam-bajrāgi**, mendicant, etc.

(ii) When two words similar in form but dissimilar in import are compounded, e.g.

cōri-camārī, theft; **ās-pās**, near; **māl-masālā**, wealth; **astra-sastra**, weapon; **dāyā-māyā**, mercy; **hārī-kūrī**, earthen pot, etc.

(iii) When two companion words different in meaning are compounded, e.g.

din-rāti, day-night; **rājā-ojīr**, king-minister; **hinu-musurmān**, Hindu-Muslim; **rājā-parjā**, king-subject; **rājā-rānī**, king-queen; **jārā-ghām**, cold-sun; **pāp-puny** (*pāpa-punya*), becal-kinal, selling-purchasing; **jāri-jūri**, burning-collecting; **phāki-phūki**, eating-finishing; **ṭhīk-ṭhāk**, right-doing; **gōl-gāl**, round-making, etc.

(iv) When of two words, the second is a jingle one, e.g.

bāsan-osan, vessel, etc.; **tēl-sēl**, oil, etc.; **nokar-okar**, servant, etc.; **hāthī-othī**, elephant, etc.; **thālī-olī**, plate, etc.

(d) When two words having the same or equivalent meanings are compounded, e.g.

kāgaḥ-patar (= *kagaj* is a Persian loan-word < *kāgaz* and *patar* < OIA *patra*), important papers; similarly **rājā-badsāh**, king; **ṭhaṭṭhā-maskharā**, joke, etc.

§344. Determinative compounds.

(a) *Tatpuruṣa* has the following subdivisions :

(i) When a noun in the accusative case is compounded, e.g.

jal-khaḥ, the act of taking breakfast; **bhaṭ-rinhā** or **bhaṭ-rinhāwā**, one who cooks rice; **dudh-duhāwā**, one who milches cow; **hāṛi-phorwā**, one who breaks an earthen vessel; **bhuḥ-sūghāwā**, one who smells earth; **phul-cubbhī**, a bird which takes sweet juice of the flower.

(ii) When a noun in the instrumental case is compounded, e.g.

hardā-māraḥ (as in **hardā-māraḥ gōhū**), beaten by a kind of plant disease; **bijulī-māraḥ**, struck by lightning.

(iii) When a noun in the dative case is compounded, e.g.

hindū-iskūḥ, Hindu school; **māl-godām**, a godown for goods; **rēl-bhāṛā**, **rēl-masūḥ**, railway fare; **ḍāk-bhūṛā**, **ḍāk-masūḥ**, postage, etc.

(iv) When a noun in the ablative case is compounded, e.g.

gāw-chaṛnā, one who has run away from the village; **lat-maruā**, one beaten by leg; **pit-maruā**, one beaten by bile, one who works hard.

(v) When a noun in the genitive case is compounded, e.g.

ṭhakur-bāṛī, the temple of Thākur (god); **bāchī-mār**, killer of a she-calf; **gāu-mār**, killer of a cow; **hāth-gharī**, wrist watch.

Examples of mixed words :

jēl-darōgā, the subinspector of jail; **jahāj-ghāṭ**, the landing place of a steamer; **gōṛā-lāin**, the place of the residence of the Englishmen; **phūl-bagān**, the garden of flower (the name of a place); **rājā-bajār**, the king's market (the name of a place in Calcutta). Similarly **saheb-bagān**, the garden of saheb, the name of a place; **cāh-bagān**, the tea garden; **rēl-kulī**, the railway coolie; **kitāb-mahal**, the book palace; **hindu-stān**, the place where the Hindus live; **gini-sōnā**, guinea-gold.

Examples of Sanskrit words :—

gaṅgā-jal, water of the Ganges; **jam-lōk**, the land of the Lord of Death; **kāśī-nares**, the king of Banāras (Kāśī).

(vi) When a noun in the ablative case is compounded, e.g.

chōṛi-bharal-dhān, a tub in which paddy has been filled; **hāṛi-bharal-satuā**, an earthen vessel in which grain-powder has been filled; **pākeṭ-bharal-paisā**, the pocket in which pice has been filled, etc.

(vii) *Naḥ* or the Negative-*Tatpuruṣa*.

The Sanskrit negative particle '*na*' changed to '*a*' before a consonant and '*an*' before a vowel may be compounded with any noun to

form the Negative-Tatpuruṣa. Such compounded words have come down to Bhojpuri.

Examples :

adharma, irreligion ; **asādhū**, wicked ; **adhīr**, impatient ; **anēk**, several ; **anādar**, disrespect.

The Bhojpuri words **a jān**, unknowing ; **akāj**, harm ; **anūn**, without salt ; will come under the above.

(viii) A few examples of 'Aluk-Tatpuruṣa' are also found in Bhojpuri, e.g.

gorē-giral, the falling on feet ; **phērē-kaṭahar**, the jack-fruit on the tree ; **hāthē-kātal**, spun by hand.

(ix) Adverbial or Avyayībhāva compound, when the first member is an adverb, e.g.

har-roj, daily ; **din-bhar**, throughout the day ; **ghar-pāche**, on every house.

This compound is also formed in Bhojpuri and in other NIA languages by doubling the word, e.g.

calat-calat, on walking ; **dekhat-dekhat**, on seeing ; **din-din**, daily ; **pāche-pāche**, behind ; **ghar-ghar**, in every house ; **rātā-rātī**, during the night.

(b) *Karmadhāraya or the Appositional Determinative compounds.*

A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding word—a noun or adjective or adverb used attributively. Such a compound is called Karmadhāraya or the Appositional determinative compound. It can be subdivided into the following five classes :—

(1) *Ordinary Appositional Determinative.*

(i) When the first member is an adjective, e.g.

kāc-kēlā, green-plantain ; **lāl-ṭōpī**, red-cap ; **khās-mahal**, chief-palace ; **mahā-rānī**, great-queen ; **kālī-paṭan**, black-army ; **heḍ-māṣṭar**, head-master ; **hariār-bās**, green-bamboo ; **pīar-dhōṭī**, yellow-piece of cloth.

The following Sanskrit words are also used in Bhojpuri, e.g.¹

mahā-kāla, the Lord of destruction ; **paramēśvara**, the supreme God ; **nīla-maṇi**, sapphire ; **sarva-guṇa**, all qualities ; **puṇya-dina**, sacred day ; **śubha-dina**, auspicious day ; **mohana-bhōg**, a kind of sweet ; **mahā-janā**, a banker.

(ii) When the second member is an adjective, e.g.

ghana-syām, cloud-blue ; **hardī-pīsal**, turmeric-broken ; etc.

(iii) When both the members are adjectives, e.g.

catur-calhāk, wise-clever ; **khāṭā-mīṭhā**, sour-sweet ; **lāl-kālā**, red-black ; **phikā-lāl**, light-red.

(iv) When both the members are nouns, e.g.

sāheb-lōg, the Saheb (English) people; **khā-sāheb**, **molbī-sāheb**, **lāṭ-sāheb**, **rājā-bahādur**, titles.

(v) When the first member is a particle or a numeral, e.g.

ka-pūt (*ku-putra*), bad son; **gar-hājir**, absent; **bē-nām**, without name; **du-sai**, two hundred; **du-tālā**, two-story; **tin-tālā**, three-story.

(2) *Madhya-pula-lōpī-Karmadhāraya*.—In this case the explanatory middle member is dropped, e.g.

ghiw-misal-bhāt = **ghiw-bhāt**, the boiled rice mixed with ghee; **dudh-dālal-bhāt** = **dudh-bhāt**, boiled rice soaked in milk; **dal-sāgā**, pulse-mixed vegetable.

(3) *Upamāna Karmadhāraya*.—When a word expressive of the standard of comparison (*upamāna*) may be compounded in a *Karmadhāraya* with another denoting the common quality or ground of comparison, we get this compound. This is rare in Bhojpuri and is found only in one or two Sanskrit words like *ghana-śyāmā* meaning 'blue-like cloud'.

(4) *Rupaka Karmadhāraya*.—When the comparison is made but the attribute is understood, we get this compound. This, like the previous one, is found in Sanskrit words only, e.g.

Kamala-mukhā, lotus-face; **candra-mukhā**, moon-face; **śoka-sindhu**, the ocean of trouble, etc.

(c) *Dwigu or Numeral Determinative compounds*.

When the first member is a numeral, it is called the 'Dwigu or Numeral Determinative compounds', e.g.

nawa-ratan, nine-jewels; **tribhuwan**, three-world; **caṭ-mōhānī**, a crossing of four roads; **caṭ-mukh**, facing four sides; **cār-hāth**, four-cubits, etc.

§345. *Bahuvrīhi or Attributive compounds*.

(i) *Vyadhikarāṇa Bahuvrīhi* is that whose members are not in apposition to each other, i.e. are in different cases when dissolved, e.g.

śūla-pāṇī, god Śiva (who has a pike in his hand); **vajra-dēhā**, god Hanumāna.

(ii) *Samānādhikarāṇa Bahuvrīhi* is that in which both the members are in apposition to each other, i.e. have the same case relation when dissolved, e.g.

pītāmbarā, the yellow cloth of Viṣṇu.

(iii) *Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi* is that in which the first member is repeated, e.g.

lāṭhā-lāṭhī, fight (with sticks); **lāṭhā-luṭī**, quarrel (with legs); **mukā-mukī**, fight (with fists); **kānā-kānī**, secretly (with ears), etc.

(iv) *Madhya-pada-lōpi Bahuvrīhi*.—In this case the explanatory middle member is dropped, e.g.

ḍeṛh-gajā, as in *ḍeṛh-gajā gamachā*, a piece of cloth which measures one and a half yards. Similarly *pāc-hatthā*, measuring five cubits.

More examples of *Bahuvrīhi* in Bhojpuri are—

lāl-pagaṛī, a police; *lalparhiyā* as in *lal-parhiyā dhōṭī*, particular piece of cloth with red border (with suffix *-iyā*); *sat-lariyā*, an ornament (lit. having seven strings of gold); *gaṅgājālī*, a metal pot; *satnaliyā*, a particular kind of gun; *rukḥ-caṛhawā*, monkey (lit. a climber of tree with suffix *-awā*); *siyar-marawā*, a jungle-tribe (lit. one who kills jackals); *sut-bēcawā*, a man of low position (lit. one who sells threads); *dhokar-kaswā*, a particular type of old man whom children fear very much (lit. one who stuffs his bag); *ghāṭ-phorawā*, a *Mahā-Brahman* (lit. one who breaks an earthen pot).

More examples of *Vyatihāra-Bahuvrīhi* in Bhojpuri are—

kaṛā-kaṛī, quarrel; *kharā-khaṛī*, at once; *khedā-khēdī*, pursuit; *khōcā-khōcī*, fight; *gārā-gāṛī*, quarrel; *godā-gōdī* or *cakā-cukī*, fight; *chowā-chinī*, snatching; *jutā-jutī*, shoe-beating; *jhōṭā-jhōṭī*, fight; *ṭoka-tōkī*, call; *ṭānā-ṭānī*, hindrance; *ṭhokā-ṭhōkī*, fight; *tākā-tukī*, love affair; *dhāwā-dhupī*, with quickness; *dhārā-dharī*, fight; *pherā-pherī*, return; *mārā-māṛī*, fight, etc.

CHAPTER III

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

§346. OIA declinational system underwent considerable curtailment in the NIA languages. Very little of the old system has been preserved. The inflexion of the eight cases of OIA tended to disappear in NIA. In most of the NIA speeches two (in a few cases three) case inflexions survived from MIA—(1) the nominative (or direct case) and (2) the non-nominative (or oblique case). The instrumental is the third case-form preserved in some, e.g. Bengālī. The inflexion of the oblique is mostly derived from the late MIA locative in the singular and genitive in the plural. But in Bhojpuri, the oblique has been considerably curtailed: it occurs only in the plural as we shall presently see.

Distinction between masculine and feminine stems is absent in Bhojpuri as in all other Māgadhan languages, the same set of inflexions serving for both.

Bhojpuri nouns, like those of Bengālī, have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender.

(A) STEMS

§347. A noun stem in Bhojpuri may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, e.g. *ḍōrā*, thread; *nōkar*, servant.

The final vowels generally are -ā, -ī, -ī, -u, -ū. Examples:

- ā, *paṅkhā*, fan; *khaṭiā*, bedstead.
- ī, *gāi*, cow; *ākhi*, eye; *pākhi*, feather.
- ī, *dhōbī*, washerman; *pānī*, water; *cānī*, silver.
- u, *sāsu*, mother-in-law; *lāṛu*, a kind of sweetmeat.
- ū, *nāū*, barber; *bājū*, bracelet; *bālū*, sand.
- ē, *pārē*, a class of Brāhman; *caubē*, a class of Brāhman.
- ō, *kōrō*, a piece of bamboo; *bōrō*, a kind of vegetable; *lakathō*, a kind of sweetmeat.

Note :—The words with -ū, -ē and -ō endings are rare.

The final consonants generally are the following:

- k, *nāk*, nose; *cāk*, the wheel of a potter; *ṭūk*, a piece of cloth.
- kh, *ghākh*, a clever man; *kākh*, the armpit; *rākh*, ashes.
- g, *sāg*, vegetable leaves; *nāg*, serpent; *mūg*, a kind of pulse.
- gh, *bāgh*, tiger; *jāgh*, thigh.
- c, *khāc*, a big basket; *āc*, flame; *māc*, a wooden raised platform.
- ch, *rāchach*, demon; *kāch*, a disease.
- j, *gāj*, foam; *rāj*, kingdom.
- jh, *bājh*, barren; *sājh*, partnership.
- ṭ, *ghāṭ* a bathing or landing place; *bhāṭ*, bard; *pēṭ*, belly.
- ṭh, *kāṭh*, wood; *ṭh*, lip.
- ḍ, *dāḍ*, fine; *bāklāḍ*, fool.
- ḍh, *ṭhāḍh*, cold.
- ṛ, *hār*, bone; *mār*, starch; *gār*, store; *ḍōṛ*, a kind of non-poisonous snake.

- ṛh, sāṛh, bull.
- t, khēt, field; bēt, cane.
- th, hāth, hand; māth, forehead.
- d, khād, manure; nād, an earthen tub.
- dh, bādh, string.
- n, kām, ear; tōn, protruding belly; kōn, corner.
- nh, sōnh, fragrant.
- p, dhāp, length; nāp, measurement; sāp, snake.
- ph, bāph, vapour; dāmph, a kind of drum.
- b, rāb, molasses; jāb, muzzle; jōb, a kind of grass.
- bh, nābh, fertile.
- m, kām, work; cām, leather.
- r, sār, wife's brother; hār, garland; khur, hoof.
- rh, mār, a kind of grain.
- l, mēl, union; chāl, bark; tarkul, palm.
- lh, māl, a string connecting the spindle with the spinning wheel.
- w, nāw, boat; ghāw, hurt; ghīw, ghee.
- s, bās, bamboo; sās, breath; nās, nerve.
- h, bāh, arm; chāh, shadow; rāh, path.

FORMS OF THE STEM

§348. In Bhojpuri, nouns generally have three forms, the short, long and the redundant, e.g.

camār, camarā, camarāwā, cobbler; nāū, nauwā, nauwāwā, barber; māli, maliyā, maliyāwā, gardener; pōthī, pothiyā, pothiyāwā, book.

Some nouns have only two forms, the short and long but no redundant forms, e.g. ghōṛā, horse; lōṭā, a jug; while others have weak forms too. This weak form is the shortest form of noun generally ending in a short vowel or silent consonant. Thus ghōṛ, horse, lōh, iron, mīth, sweet, are the weak forms. Such weak forms are rare in the popular speech and their corresponding strong forms ghōṛā, lōhā and mīthā are now more in use.

The long and redundant forms are used only familiarly and sometimes have a tinge of inferiority or contempt. These are never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the youngers.

§349. To form the corresponding long forms, -wā is added to the short stem if it ends in -ā (e.g. rājā—rajāwā, king; māta—matāwā, mother), -ū (e.g. nāū—nauwā, barber), the vowel (together with the preceding consonant) being shortened before the termination, -yā if it ends in -ī (e.g. māli—maliyā, gardener) and -ā if it ends in a consonant (e.g. camār—camarā, the man of camār caste) but -awā in certain cases if the noun ends in a consonant (e.g. pēt—petāwā, belly; qōm—qomāwā, a man of a low caste, etc.).

§350. The redundant forms are formed by reduplicating the final suffix of the long form.

(B) GENDER

§351. There is no strict gender sense in Bhojpuri. Gender is looked upon as immaterial in grammar; we can say that in Bhojpuri gender is natural and not grammatical. There are no special affixes for the masculine and neuter (inanimate names are always neuter, in so far as they can never take adjectives with the feminine affix).

The names of persons or animals of the female sex may take the feminine affix -ī, but even this is frequently neglected. It is likely that

we have in this employment of the feminine affix for adjectives qualifying feminine nouns, not only a survival of earlier conditions in Bhojpuri (when grammatical gender existed as an inheritance from MIA) but also a recent influence of Kharī-Bōli Hindī.

§352. There is also an attraction of forms—a neuter noun ending in **-ī**, which was formerly feminine and still is feminine in Kh. Bōli may behave like a feminine noun by adding the feminine affix to an adjective (or verb) qualifying it, e.g. **ghar jari gail**, the house got burnt; **pōthī jari gail**, the book was burnt; the first is masculine while the second is feminine in grammar but the speaker does not have any definite feeling that the '*pōthī*' is feminine unlike the speakers of Kh. Bōli.

§353. The gender is also *sometimes* indicated by the agreement of the adjective, e.g. **baṛ ghōṛā**, a tall horse; **baṛi ghōṛī**, a tall mare; but it may be **baṛ ghōṛī** also. Thus the agreement of the adjective with the qualified noun in gender is not consistent in modern Bhojpuri. But in older Bhojpuri, the case was otherwise, e.g.

taba brahmā pūchala mahatāri,
kē tōra bhatāra kekari tū nāri.

(Kabir's Bījaka, p. 27. Venkateśvar Press, Bombay.)

§354. Nouns which denote animate beings take their gender according to the sex that they denote: males being denoted by the masculine gender and the females by the feminine gender. For instance:—

marad, man; **bhāisā**, buffalo; **baradh**, bullock; **murugā**, cock, are masculine, while **mehrārū**, woman; **bhāisī**, buffalo (she); **gāi**, cow; **murugī**, hen, are feminine.

§355. Some nouns, however, are either masculine only or feminine only irrespective of the sex that they denote, e.g. **kaūā**, crow; **neūr**, mongoose; **lamahā**, hare, are always used in the masculine gender while **ciraī** (Kh. Bōli: *cīriyā* also fem.), bird; **cilhi** (Kh. Bōli: *cil* also fem.), kite; **khēkharī** (Kh. Bōli: *lōmrī*, also fem.), fox, are always feminine, cf. Bengālī children's rhyme: *khēks-iyālī, khēks-iyālī kayāṭi tōr chānā*. These are cases where the speaker is either unable to observe the sex or does not care to do so.

§356. Nouns denoting a collection of living beings may be either feminine or masculine, e.g.

bhīṛī, a crowd of men (fem.); **jhūṛī**, a group of men or animals (fem.); **jamāṭī**, a crowd of saints (fem.); **hārī**, a group of animals (fem.); **jamāw**, collection of men (masc.); **jakhērā**, collection (masc.).

We find no gender in collective nouns, though an educated person, i.e. educated in 'Kharī Bōli Hindī', will have a feeling that nouns in **-ī**, **-ī** are feminine as is the case in Kharī Bōli. But no discrimination of gender is made in Bhojpuri, e.g.

sādhun ke bhīṛī āi bā, the crowd of saints has come; **mehrārūn ke bhīṛī āi bā**, the crowd of women has come.

§357. Where living beings of either sex are to be described together, the masculine form behaves as nouns of common gender, e.g.

larikā khelatāre sanī, the boys (for boys and girls) are playing; **harnā bhāgi galle sanī**, the deer have fled away; **mōlā mō bahut**

admī āī rahlē hā, there were many men (for men and women) in the fair.

Formation of the Feminine

§358. Bhojpuri inherited the grammatical gender from MIA but gradually this gender sense was lost. Nevertheless in early Bhojpuri we find its continuance, and even foreign words were made to take the affix **-ī** for the feminine as the continuance of a tradition, although it was itself on the decline.

Feminine Affixes

A. Inherited.

(i) OIA **-ī**, **ī**, e.g.

kūārī, a girl; **nārī**, a woman; **gāwārī**, a rustic woman; **curaillī** (< * *curailli*), a she-ghost.

The following neuter nouns are grammatically feminine as a matter of inheritance so far as early Bhojpuri is concerned but at present no feminine sense is attached to them, e.g.

bhīrī, a crowd of people; **jhūrī**, a group; **dhūrī**, dust; **āgī**, fire; **mārī**, quarrel; **bāṛhanī**, an evil star; **chāwanī**, thatch.

Foreign words like the following have followed suit with the above :—

ījatī, honour; prestige; **phajihatī**, infamy, etc.

(ii) OIA **-ni**, **-ini** > **-nī**, **-inī**. This can be extended pleonastically by adding the affix **-yā**, e.g.

gwālinī, milkmaid; **sohāginī**, a married woman whose husband is alive; **dulahinī**, bride; **nāginī**, a female serpent; **telinī**, wife of an oilman; **dhōbinī**, a washer-woman; **malāhinī**, a boat-woman; **brahinī**, a lady suffering the pangs of absent love; **ojhāinī**, **lalāinī**, **baniāinī**, **tiwarāinī**, **dubāinī**, the women of different Hindu castes; **māṣṭarāinī**, a mistress; **diptāinī**, the wife of a deputy.

(iii) OIA **-ika** > **-ī**, e.g.

ghōrī, mare; **māmī**, maternal aunt; **cācī**, aunt; **dīdī**, sister; **bāchī**, she calf; **chūrī**, knife; **sahajādī**, princess; **haramjādī**, a wicked woman, etc.

B. Borrowed.

(i) With endings **-ā** and **-ī** is mostly found in ts. names, e.g.

gāṅgā, **sītā**, **rādhā**, **lalitā**, **jamunā**, **lilāwatī**, **kalāwatī**, **kumārī**, **kishōrī**, etc.

(ii) The ts. words with **-inī** are rare in Bhojpuri. Only **mānīnī** is found in songs.

(C) NUMBER

§359. The Māgadhan languages of the present day as a rule form the plural by the addition of some nouns of multitude. This is the general rule in Maithili, Bengālī, Oṛiyā and Assamese. Some survivals of OIA inflections and help-words became established during the MIA period. These are found to occur in all the Māgadhan speeches as well as in other NIA languages. Some plural inflections of OIA origin are thus found in Bhojpuri also. For instance, in Bhojpuri, the plural is formed by the addition of **-an**, **-anī**, **-anh**, **-anhi**, **-nh**, **-nhi**, **-n**, **-nī**. These are nothing but the survival of genitive plural and a mixture of genitive plural and instrumental endings for the nominative plural.

The endings in *-n* occur as a plural affix in dialectical Bengālī (ODBL, §486) and also as a secondary affix added to nouns of multitude to indicate the plural, e.g. *-guli-n*, *-gulā-n* besides *-guli*, *-gulā*. It has acquired the value of an honorific suffix in respectful forms of verb, e.g. Bengālī: *kare-n*, *calu-n*, etc. The oblique plural in Hindi, Punjābī, Rājasthānī, etc., is similarly a survival of old genitive plural, e.g. *ghōṭakānām* = Hindi, *ghōṭṛ*, Punjābī, *ghōṛiṛ*, Rājasthānī also *ghōṛiṛ*. In Bhojpurī there is no difference in sense of *-an*, *-ani*, *-anh*, *-anhi*, *-nh*, *-nhi*, *-n*, *-ni*, etc.

§360. The plural in Bhojpurī is formed by adding

(a) *-anh*, *-anhi*, *-an*, *-ani*, if the noun ends in a consonant, e.g.

<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
ghar	gharanh } gharanhi }	gharan } gharani }
a house	houses	houses
camār	camāranh } camāranhi }	camāran } camārani }
a man of Camār caste	men of Camār caste	men of Camār caste
gāw	gāwanh } gāwanhi }	gāwan } gāwani }
a village	villages	villages

(b) *-nhi*, *-ni*, *-nh*, or *-n*, if the noun ends in a vowel (shortening the vowel if it is long before the terminations):—

<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
gāi	gāinh } gāinhi }	gāin } gāini }
a cow	cows	cows
diā	dianh } dianhi }	dian } diani }
a lamp	lamps	lamps

Periphrastic Plural

§361. In addition to the above forms, every noun can also form a periphrastic plural. This is done with the help of some words denoting plurality.

Words indicating classes of people add *sabh* (after pronouns generally) and *lōg* (after nouns) to form periphrastic plurals, e.g.

raṭṭā sabh, you respected people; *āmīā lōg*, the officers, or *okīl lōg*, the vakils.

The terminations to form the various cases are added to *sabh* and *lōg* and not to the preceding substantive, e.g.

kamkar logan, *logani* or *loganh*, *loganhi mē*, among the 'Kamkar' people; *raṭṭā sabhan*, *sabhani* or *sabhanh*, *sabhanhi sē*, to you respected people.

(D) CASE INFLEXIONS

INHERITED FROM MIA AND NEWLY CREATED

§362. Bhojpuri noun is said to have seven cases, if we follow the method of Sanskrit grammarians. In Bhojpuri a postposition is generally used to denote all case relationships except the nominative. Old case affixes for the instrumental and locative have survived to some extent. The following are the different postpositions for the various cases in Bhojpuri:—

Accusative, Dative and Genitive..	..	ke
Instrumental and Ablative ..	..	se, sē
Locative .. .. .	..	mē, par

These postpositions are of recent origin, i.e. of late MIA origin, having developed, not from OIA case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA stage.

Nominative

§363. The affix for the nominative in the Māgadhī Prākṛit is -ē. The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this -ē—Aśokan eastern speech, Old Māgadhī as in the 'Sutanukā inscription', 'Māgadhī' and 'Ardha-Māgadhī' as in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, 'Jain Ardha-Māgadhī' and 'Māgadhī' of the Sanskrit dramas. In late MIA, i.e. during the Apabhraṁśa stage, this -ē in all likelihood became -i as we find from the evidence of some of the Prākṛit grammarians.

As a matter of fact, all the Māgadhan dialects including Bhojpuri should possess -ē, -i affixes for the nominative (singular), but evidences show that -ē is obsolete in modern Bhojpuri as well as in west Bengālī. It is, however, found in the east Bengālī, Assamese and Oṛiyā as well as in the old Bengālī of Caryās and in middle Bengālī of all periods (ODBL, §497, Assamese, its Formation and Development, §§646, 647). In Maithilī of Vidyāpati, this -ē is, however, found, e.g. *jani Manamathe mana bēdhala bānē*, as if Love pierced (her) mind with an arrow.

The -i form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few Bhojpuri words, e.g. *ṭhāī*, place (in western Bhojpuri) < **ṭhāwi*, *ṭhāmē* = *sthā-man*. > Similarly -i, in *dehi*, body, *bāhi*, arm, seems to be a remnant of affix -i.

Instrumental

§364. The instrumental in -ē, -an and -anhi is very common in modern Bhojpuri in such expressions as *bhūkhē*, *bhūkhan*, *bhūkhanhi*, out of hunger; *dātē*, *dātan*, *dātanhi*, with teeth. The -ē ending occurs frequently in old Bhojpuri ballads and songs:—

- (i) *mōrā picḥuarawā baṛhalā bhalyā hitawā (begē) calī āwahu rē*, (residing) at the back of my house, O brother friend carpenter, come with speed, i.e. at once. (Sohar song.)
- (ii) *rāmā (kethiyē) manāwō bira Halumanawā rē nā*, with what should I propitiate hero Hanumāna (the monkey chief). (Git Bijai-mala, line 25. A Song in Old Bhojpuri, J.A.S.B., Vol. LIII, Part I, Special Number for 1884.)

The instrumental ending -ē is found in Maithilī (e.g. *kathē kathē jhagaṛā bhāī*, by discussions, a quarrel arose), Magadhī, Old Bengālī, Oṛiyā and

Assamese. (In Assamese the non-nasalized ending -e is found.) It is also found in early Kōsālī of 'Uktivyakti-prakaraṇam' of Dāmodar Paṇḍit, p. 47 (e.g. *dukhē sarai taja*, abandons everything on account of distress) as well as in Kōsālī (Awadhī) of Tulasi Dāsa. Its traces are found in NIA speeches of west also, e.g. Kharī Bōlī: *dhīrē calō*, walk slowly.

The source of Bhojpuri -ē, -an and -anhi appears to be the OIA instrumental singular, the genitive plural and a combination of both. Thus Bhojpuri -ē is the same as the middle Bengālī -ē, old Bengālī -ē and Lakhimpuri -en and its source is OIA -ena. The origin of Bhojpuri -an and the ending -anhi shows the genitive -an, MIA -hi (instrumental and locative singular). The -hi may also represent the MIA instrumental plural -ahi, -ehi < OIA -ebhi which has given the Oṛiyā and Kharī Bōlī nominative plural in -ē.

The Lakhimpuri -en side by side with eastern Kōsālī (Awadhī) -an may be taken to suggest that Bhojpuri -an also is a weakening of the earlier -ena of the instrumental.

§365. The modern Bhojpuri postposition *se*, *sē* (instrumental and ablative) can be derived from *sam-ena* which became *saē* > **saī* > *sē*, > *se*. The source of the postposition *sō* of Brajabhākhā is *samaṁ*.

The postposition *le* is also used for the ablative in the Bhojpuri of Shāhābād district. This is also found in Nepālī; Dr. Turner agreeing with J. Bloch derives it from 'le' to take. (Nepali Dictionary, p. 560.)

Examples:

(a) With *se* (instrumental):

(i) *ham lāthī se maralī*, I beat with the stick (Sg.).

(ii) *phūlan* or *phūlani* or *phūlanh* or *phūlanhi se phulwārī gamakatiā*, the garden is fragrant with flowers (Pl.).

(b) With *se* (ablative):

(i) *phēr se pataī giratiā*, the leaves fall from the tree (Sg.) (Balliā); *phēr le pataī giratiā*, the leaves fall from the tree (Sg.) (Shāhābād).

(ii) *phēran* or *phērani* or *phēranh* or *phēranhi se pataī giratiā*, the leaves fall from the trees (Pl.) (Balliā); *phēran* or *phērani* or *phēranh* or *phēranhi le pataī giratiā*, the leaves fall from the trees (Pl.) (Shāhābād).

Locative

§366. The locative in -ē, -ē in modern Bhojpuri is both static and dynamic towards the place, e.g. *u bajārē galle*, he went in the market. Similarly *gharē*, in the house, *gāwē*, in the village. This ending is also found in middle and old Bengālī as well as in Assamese. It occurs as an oblique affix (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative) in western Hindi as well as in early Kōsālī of 'Uktivyaktiprakaraṇam' of Dāmodar Paṇḍit, p. 46 (e.g. *thāhē, nāwa ukhala*, the boat sails in fordable water) and in middle Kōsālī (Awadhī) of Tulasi Dās.

The source of -ē, -ē has been discussed in details by Dr. Chatterji in ODBL, §499. He derived -ē, -ē, < -a-hi, -a-hī < **-dhi*, **-bhi*, **-bhim*, -*amin*. Thus *gharē*, *gharē* = Late MIA *gharahi*, *gharahim* < OIA *grha-dhi(m)*, *grha-bhi(m)*.

It has been conjectured that in OIA there existed a locative suffix **-adhi* which is attested by MIA (Pāli) *-dhi* and from Greek *-thi*. It has also been surmised that there was in OIA an affix in two forms **-bhi*, **-bhim* (which is represented in Homeric Greek by *-phi*, *-phin* and is found in Latin in *-ti-bi*: it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of 'by, along with', in the locative and ablative as well as instrumental, and rarely in the genitive and dative, and it was not of a definite number. This **-bhi*, **-bhim* would become *-hi* *-him* in MIA, and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA ablative and locative affixes: the nasalized *-him* would certainly seem to go back to it. In addition to these the possibility of the OIA locative singular affix *-asmin* = **-assim*, **-ássim*, *-amhi*, *-ammi* in early MIA which has merged into the late MIA *-ahi*, *-ahim* has also been suggested.

§367. In modern Bhojpuri and Hindī the postpositions *-mē* and *-par* are employed in the locative. The source of *par* is Late MIA *pari* < OIA *parē*, meaning beyond. The origin of *mē* (Nepālī *mā*, Turner: Nepali Dictionary, p. 499) appears to be MIA *majjhe* < OIA *madhyah*, *madhye*. In old Hindī we find *māhi*. In old Bhojpuri documents of one hundred years we also find *māhi* which is, possibly, an importation from the western Hindī, e.g. *kāgada likhāila, parāna sāhu kā dōrokhā māhi*, this document was written in the verandah of the merchant named Parāna. The words *maha* and *mahū* found as the postpositions in Kōśālī (Baburam Sakṣena: Evolution of Awadhī, §188) suggest that there was a sts. word *madha-*, also < **maddha* < OIA *madhya* (cf. in this connection *sabhya*: *sabhā* and also *mada* from Avesta).

Examples :

(i) *gilās mē pānī naikhe*, there is no water in the glass (Sg.); *bānar par gōlī mati calāwā*, do not fire at the monkey (Sg.).

(ii) *gilāsan, gilāsani, gilāsanh, gilāsanhi mē pānī naikhē*, there is no water in the glasses (Pl.); *bānaran, bānarani, bānaranh, bānaranhi par gōlī mati calāwā*, do not fire at monkeys (Pl.).

Genitive

§368. The OIA genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in NIA speeches. The genitive affix *-ra* is retained by pronouns only in Bhojpuri, e.g. *mōrā, hamārā, tohārā* (cf. Beng. *mō-rā, tō-rā, tūhā-rā*, etc.). For the origin of this affix see under Pronouns.

This *-ra* postposition is very common in many NIA speeches. Besides Magahī and Maithilī, it is also employed by the Assamese, Oṛiṣā and dialects of north Bengāl and Sylhet amongst the Māgadhan speeches and in Mārwarī amongst the western languages.

§369. The origin of the genitive postpositions in the various NIA languages has been discussed very exhaustively (Grierson; Hindustānī: Encyc. Brit.; Chatterji: ODBL, §503). They are all related to the derivative formations of $\sqrt{\text{kr}}$ like *kara, kāra, kārya, kṛtya*, already yielding adjectival affixes in MIA :

amhārā, mahārā, amha-kera, etc. There are extended applications of these affixes in MIA literature, e.g. *mama-kera, vappa-kera*, etc.

Among NIA languages *-ra, -era* are the characteristic affixes of Assamese and Bengālī respectively and *-ca* of Marāṭhī, while Sindhī *-ja* is a modern

form related to *kārya* > MIA *kajja* > *-ajja* > *-ja*. The genitive postposition in Maithili and Magahi is *-ka* and in modern Bhojpuri it is *ke*. (In W.H. the genitive postposition is *kā* and in Nepālī it is *ko*; Turner: Nepali Dictionary). The source of Bhojpuri genitival postposition *ke* appears to be *kṛtya* > *kag*; Māgadhi *kae* > *kai* > *ke*. The origin of Maithili and Magahi genitival postposition *-ka* which is also found in old Bhojpuri ballads and songs seems to be a blend between MIA *-kaa* < *kṛtya* and the adjectival *-kka* which has also a genitival force.

Examples:

With *ke* (genitive):

- (i) *rām ke laiṁī mu gaīlī*, Rām's daughter died (Sg.).
- (ii) *kukuran or kukurani or kukuranh or kukuranhi ke nōh tēj hōlā*, the nails of dogs are very sharp (Pl.).

§370. The *-ke* genitive of Bhojpuri is used for the dative and accusative also. The Assamese and the north Bengālī dialects have *-ka* for the genitive and dative. In this connection, it is to be noted that the falling together of the genitive and dative is an old phenomenon beginning from the later Vedic and Sūtra texts. That of accusative and dative began from MIA period and is quite marked in NIA speeches.

The example of genitive with *ke* has been given above. That of accusative and dative is given below:

(a) With *-ke* (accusative):

- (i) *tu apnā laiṁā ke bhējā*, send your son (Sg.).
- (ii) *tu apnā laiṁan or laiṁani or laiṁanh or laiṁanhi ke bhējā*, send your sons (Pl.).

The accusative with *-ke* is also found in Bengālī, e.g.

tāke bolbō = Sk. *taṁ vakṣyāmi*, I shall speak to him.

(b) With *-ke* (dative):

- (i) *u bāmhan ke dān dihalē*, he gave charity to the Brāhman (Sg.).
- (ii) *u bamhanan or bamhanani or bamhananh or bamhananhi ke dān dihalē*, he gave charity to the Brāhman (Pl.).

The dative with *-ke* is also found in Bengālī, e.g.

jal ke jābō = Sk. *Jalāya gamiṣyāmi*, I shall go for water.

§371. The origin of genitive postposition *-ke* has already been explained (§369). As a comprehensive source of the dative postposition in the NIA languages and especially to account for Kosali (Awadhi) forms like *-kaha*, *kahā*, *kahu*, *kahū* and Sindhi *-khe*, Beames suggested OIA *-kakṣa*, side, as the probable form from which NIA affixes like Bg. *-ke*, O. *-ku*, Br. *-kaū*, H. *-ko*, etc., have sprung.

R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar objects to this proposed derivation from *-kakṣa*. He would trace the dative *-ke* of Bengālī (also of Bhojpuri) and *-kō* of W. Hindi to a MIA locative *kēhī*, *kahī*, where, somewhere, from the interrogative pronoun base *ka* (Wilson: Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

To Dr. Chatterji, this derivation of Bhaṇḍārkar is not at all convincing. According to him, the Sindhi *khe*, *khā*, *khō*, *khū*, inflected forms of a post-fixed (*ka*) *kkha*, the Old Bengālī *kakhu* and the Early Kosali *kāhū* would all support the assumption that *kakṣa* is the source of W. Hindi *kahu*, *kay*, *kō*,

kū and *Oriyā ku*. They are all to be connected with an Apabhramśa form for the ablative in **kakkhahu*, **kakkhāhū* or probably **kakkhāu*, **kakkhav*. Thus considering all the points in this connection, Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that the source of *-ke* is either *kṛta* or *kakṣa* or a convergence of the two in the locative (ODBL, p. 761).

Ablative

§372. Bhojpuri, like Bengālī and Assamese and unlike Oriyā, does not possess any organic affix for the ablative. The postpositions *-se* and *-le* are employed to express ablative sense in modern Bhojpuri. The origin of these postpositional words has already been explained (see §365 under Instrumental).

POSTPOSITIONAL WORDS

§373. Use of postpositions to denote case relations is found in IA, Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA, indeclinables like *ā*, *adhi*, *anu*, *pari*, *pra*, etc., are found both as prepositions and as postpositions. In IE, these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE languages, including IA, they came to attach themselves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and postpositional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from late OIA and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help-words: they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or postpositional employ than Vedic. In MIA the number of these old particles as postpositions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA, the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connection, purpose or power) along with the principal noun which retained its original inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prākṛit vernaculars, took up this device. This sort of auxiliary and postpositional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such postpositional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE languages, e.g. English—during, regarding, concerning, etc. But this principle was utilized only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, whereas IA, from the MIA stage downwards, fully employed it to form postpositionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as postpositions governing oblique cases.

Some of these postpositional words—noun and verb forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA, as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle postpositions, however, mostly retained their phrasal character and in NIA they remain distinct as detached words. Bhojpuri has many such verbal postpositions. Besides, some nouns (old tbs. or sts.) are used as separable postpositions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important separable postpositions of Bhojpuri:

(1) *āgā* or *āgē* locative of *āga* < *agra*, before, in front of. It is used more commonly with the genitive and occasionally with the base. The non-nasalized form *agē* is used in Hindi and Nepālī, e.g. *īnī kī āgē* or

āgē hamār khet bā, my field is in front of the railway line; rājā āgē karabō gōhārī (Old Bhojpuri), cf. Bengālī—rājā āgē karibō gōhārī (SKK., p. 65), shall make a blight before the king.

(2) ūpar, par < Sk. *upāri*, Pāli *upari*, Pk. *uppari*, meaning 'on, upon'. In Hindi *upar* and *par* is also used. These are employed with genitive in the locative sense, e.g. tohārā ūpar or par ham barā anarāj bānī, I am very much angry upon or on you.

(3) ōr, meaning 'towards or in the direction of': used more commonly with genitive in the locative, e.g. ghar kā ōr, towards the house; ēhī ōr, in this direction. The Perso-Arabic word *ṭaraf* (طرف) is also used in the above sense, e.g. ghar kā ṭaraf, ehī ṭaraf.

(4) karat, kartē, doing, present participle of $\sqrt{kār} = \sqrt{kṛ}$, to do. kartē < *karantē* < *karantahi*, *karantahi* (instrumental or locative). It is used commonly with genitive, e.g. toharā karat or kartē kuchāū nā bhālī, nothing was done by your doing.

(5) kāran, cause: used with the genitive in an instrumental, dative as well as ablative sense, e.g. toharā kāran, on account of you; majbhā kāran bajrī bāp, the father becomes inimical on account of step-mother.

(6) khātir and wāstē < Arabic *khāṭir* (خاطر) and *wāṣṭah* (وسطه) meaning 'for': used commonly with genitive in dative case, e.g. hamarā khātir or wāstē dudh lē āwā, bring milk for me. Similarly okarā khātir, for him; rām khātir, for Rām.

(7) chāṛī—passive participle of $\sqrt{chār}$, to relinquish, give up < Sk. *chardayati*, Pā. *chadḍeti*, Pk. *chadḍei*, *chadḍai*, *chaddei*, *chadḍai* (cf. *chārnu*; Turner: N.D., p. 194), cf. N. and B. $\sqrt{chār}$ used with the stem in the sense of 'without', e.g. rām chāṛī i kām kehū nā kari sakelā, nobody can do this work without 'Rām'. It is sometimes used with genitive also, e.g. hamarā chāṛī, without me; toharā chāṛī, without you.

(8) niyar and nihan, like: used with the noun or pronoun in the genitive case and shows comparison, e.g. rām niyar or nihan śyām naikhan, Rām is not like Shyām; hamarā niyar or nihan, like me; tohārā niyar or nihan, like you, etc.

Exactly like the above, the word *ṭarah* < Arabic *ṭarah* (طرح) is employed but it is used with pronouns only, e.g. hamarā ṭarah, like me; tohārā ṭarah, like you, etc.

(9) nīcā, below < Sk. *nīcāḥ*, is used with genitive with an adverbial force, e.g. bichawanā kā nīcē, below the bed.

(10) paṛē, through, forms the instrumental. This word is connected probably with *paṛ* or *payār*, way, < **pada-ḍa*, an extension of '*pada*', foot, e.g. kawanā paṛē, through which.

(11) pāchā or pāchē, behind, is used with genitive to form the dative case. The word has originated from a contamination of Sk. *pratham* and *paśā* (Turner: N.D.), e.g. toharā pāchā or pāchē etanā rupayā kharac kaḷī, I spent so much money for you; kā unhukarā pāchā, pāchā or pāchē pāchē ghūmatārā, why do you walk behind him?

(12) pāsē: locative of pās, side (*pāśva*); forms the locative of proximity with the genitive, e.g. hamārā pāsē, by my side; tohārā pāsē, by your side.

(13) bade, for, is used with genitive to form dative in the western Bhojpuri of Banāras and Āzamgarh. The origin of this word is obscure, e.g. kā māi asarī rupayā torā bade, hājir bā jiu samet karejā rājā torā bade, what to speak of goods, gold coins and silver coins for you, even my heart with soul is ready for you. (Badmās Darpan.)

(14) *bāhar* or *baharī*, outside MIA *bāhira* < Sk. *bahiḥ*: used with genitive to form ablative case, e.g. *mandil kā bāhar* or *baharī*, outside the temple.

(15) *binā*, without, sts. < Sk. *vinā*, forms the accusative case, e.g. *rām binā dukh kawan harī*, who will remove the troubles without Rām. It is sometimes used with genitive also, e.g. *tohārā binā*, without you. It is very rarely used as a preposition also, e.g. *binā bolawalā*, without invitation.

(16) *bic*, between, forms the locative case, e.g. *naīyā bic nadiyā bahāil jāi*, the river is flowing in the boat (Kabīr). It is sometimes used with genitive also, e.g. *u lahari kā bic paṛī gaile*, he was caught between the waves.

(17) *bihun*, without, in the absence of, is obsolete in modern Bhojpuri but was probably current in old Bhojpuri. In modern Bhojpuri, the word *bihunī* is used as an abuse for a woman. Similarly *bihunā* is used for a man. In old Bengālī, the words are *bihune* and *bihani*. It seems to be the Sk. *viḥina* in the locative, with influence of $\sqrt{bhū} > hu$. In Caryā 13, we find *ninda-bihunē suinā jaisō*, just as a dream (*suina* = *svapna*) without sleep.

(18) *bhitar* or *bhitarī*, *bhitarē* cf. Bengālī *bhitārā bhitārē*, within < **bhītari* < **abhyantarē*. These are locatives but used with genitives, e.g. *ghar kā bhitar*, *bhitarē*, *bhitarī* within or inside the house.

In the same sense the word *annar* < Persian *andar* is used. It seems to be a recent importation from western Hindī, e.g. *ghar kā annar*, within the house.

(19) *mājh*, *mājhē*, *māh*, in the middle, locative form (< *madhya*), cf. Bengālī *mājhē*. The words *mājh*, *mājhē*, *māh* are used in old Bhojpuri as postpositions, the modern word being *me* for the same. These are found in old Bhojpuri documents, e.g. *kāgad likhāil*, *parān sāhu kā dorōkhā mājh*, *mājhē*, the document was written in the verandah of the merchant named Parān. *mājhē* is found in Caryā also, e.g. *gaṅgā-jaunā—mājhērē bahar nāi*, the boat floats in the Gaṅgā and the Jumna.

The sts. *madhe* < *madhyē* is also found in the Bhojpuri proverb *dhan madhē kaṭhāwatī bans madhe phūā*, in wealth (the only remnant is) a wooden plate and in family a father's sister.

māha is found in old Bhoj., e.g. *ghara māha*, *bana māha*, in the house, in the forest. In modern Bhojpuri the meaning of *māh* is 'under', e.g. *kā ham kehū kā māh bānī* ? am I under anybody ?

(20) *mārē mārē*, locative of *mār* < caus. of \sqrt{mr} . In modern Bhojpuri these are used with genitive and give the meaning 'owing to, on account of', e.g. *kām kā mārē*, *mārē*, on account of work; *tohārā mārē*, *mārē*, on account of you; *bhukhī kā mārē*, *mārē*, owing to hunger.

(21) *lagē*, *lagē*, near: forms the locative of proximity with the genitive. Probably it is connected with the Sk. word *lagna-*, e.g. *hamārā lagē* or *lagē āwā*, come to me.

Exactly in the above sense, the word *nagīc*, *nagīcā*, *nagīcē* < Pers. *nazīk*, is used in Bhojpuri, e.g. *hamārā nagīc*, *nagīcā* or *nagīcē āwā*, come to me.

(22) *lāgi*, having come in touch with, cf. N. *lāgi*, B. *lāgiyā*, *legē*, *lāgi* < Sk. *lagna-*, *lagnaka-*, Pa., Pk. *lagga-*, attached. Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest 'for the sake of', with the object 'that'. This postpositional form is found in Bhojpuri poetry only (it is rare in N.B. '*ādhu-bhūṭ*' and in standard colloquial, but it is exceedingly common in M.B. and in the archaic poetical language.), e.g.

apnā piyā lāgi penh'lō cūdariyā, I put on a bordered cloth for my husband.

(23) **lē**, up to, cf. N. *lē*, H. *lē*, 'with' possibly connected with Sk. *lābhate*, Pa. *labhati*, Pk. *lahai* (Turner : N.D., pp. 560, 556, see *lē* and *linu*). Particularly it is used after adverbs, e.g. **kahā lē**, up to where; **ihā lē**, up to here, etc.

Exactly in the above sense, the postpositional form **tak** is used in the Bhojpuri. The word **tak** is probably connected with Sk. *tarkayati*, Pa. *takketi*, Pk. *takkei* (Turner : N.D., p. 270), e.g. **kahā tak**, up to where, **ihā tak**, up to here, etc.

(24) **sañē**, instrumental or locative-oblique of the ts. *saṅga*, company. It is used occasionally with genitive also, e.g. **tohārā sañē**, with you; **rām sañē**, with Rām. This postpositional form is found in O.B. also, e.g. Caryā 32, *dujjana-saṅge*, with a bad man.

(25) **santī** or **sātī**, officiating, in exchange for. It forms dative with genitive, e.g. **hamār santī** or **sātī**, for me (officiating me); **ōkar santī** or **sātī**, for that (in exchange for that). The use of *-santa* as a genitive postposition is very old and has been found, at least in MIA of the south-west, as early as the transitional MIA period.

(26) **samēt**, with (cf. N. *samet*). It forms instrumental with genitive, e.g. **sabh kā samēt āwā**, come with all (men).

(27) **sāth**, **sāthē** with < OIA *sārtha*, having interest in. It is employed with the genitive to denote association, e.g. **rām kā sāthē**, with Rām.

(28) **sāmnē**, in front of < an extension of *sammukha*-. It forms locative with genitive, e.g. **rām kā sāmnē** in front of Rām or before Rām.

(29) **sōjhā** in front of or before; cf. N. *sojo* or *sojhō*, straight. Probably < Sk. *śodhyaḥ*, to be cleansed or improved or set right, Pk. *sojjha*-. It forms locative with genitive, e.g. **rām kā sōjhā**, before Rām.

(30) **hōt**, being; cf. B. *hātē*. In M.B. this is found also as *hāntē*, beside *hōnte*. With genitive it indicates ablative. Dr. Chatterji connects it with \sqrt{as} , to be (ODBL, p. 775), e.g. **tohārā hōt**, in your presence.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADJECTIVE

§374. The adjectives in Bhojpuri, like nouns, admit of three forms: the short, the long, and the redundant. The short form is the primary form and the most in use, e.g.

baṛ, baṛākā, baṛakawā; choṭ, choṭākā, choṭakawā; sōjh, sojhākā, sojhakawā; lāl, lālākā, lalakawā.

§375. The long form is made by adding -akā and the redundant by adding -akawā.

§376. Sometimes -han and -har are also added to the adjective, e.g.

baṛ, baṛahan, big; chōṭ, choṭahan, small; lām, lamahar, tall, long.

The affixes -har and -han have been discussed before §§306, 307.

§377. The agreement of the adjectives in gender with those of the qualified noun is not rigid, e.g.

nīman laikā, a good boy; nīmanī laikī, a good girl, but nīman laikī is also used.

§378. The feminine of adjective is formed by—

(a) adding -ī to the masculine, when it ends in a consonant, e.g.

bhutāh, bhutāhī, dreadful; ūjar, ūjarī, white; pātar, pātari, thin; baṛ, baṛī, big; jabūn (lw.), jabūnī, bad; lāyak (lw.), lāyaki, able; badmās (lw.), badmāsī, bad.

(b) changing -ā into -ī if the masculine ends in -ā, e.g.

gōlā, gōlī, reddish; dhawarā, dhawarī, whitish; lāgarā, lāgarī, lame.

Note.—In Bhojpuri, predicates referring to feminine nouns or pronouns may sometimes have the feminine affix -ī, -ī but in the declension there is generally no distinction.

DECLENSION OF THE ADJECTIVE

§379. There is no change in the adjective otherwise but there are a few survivals of the inflected adjective and the inflected adjective is also found in the dialectical Bhojpuri of Āzamgarh and Banāras, where the adjectives ending in -ā are inflected in the singular of oblique cases and in the nominative plural, e.g.

bare beṭā ke ghar, the house of the elder son; pāc acche acche baradh, five good bullocks; choṭākā beṭā apnē bāp se kahalas, the younger son said to his father.

DEGREES OF COMPARISON

§380. As in other NIA speeches, there are no inflexions in Bhojpuri for comparative and superlative forms of adjectives. The sense of comparative is expressed either by using some such word as -jiādā, baṛhi ke,

more; *kam*, less—which is put before the adjective with which the comparison is made, being put in the instrumental with the postposition *se*, e.g.

ī laikā okarā se jīdā sunnar bāṭē, this boy is fairer than that;
ū laikā ekarā se kam sunnar bāl, that boy is less fair than this.

§381. Sometimes the comparison is carried on by using *anaḥ*, *bis*, e.g. *ī laikā ekarā se umiri mē tanī bis hawē*, this boy is a bit older in age; *ū laikā ekarā se umiri mē tanī anaḥ hawē*, that boy is a bit less in age, or the comparison is generally expressed by using the simple adjective with the postposition *se* following the noun with which the comparison is made, e.g.

ū laikā ekarā se gōr hawē, that boy is fairer than this; *ī laikā okarā se kariā hawē*, this boy is darker than that.

§382. The sense of superlative is expressed by a simple adjective preceded by *sabh mē* or *sabh se* or *sabh mē baṛhī ke* or *sabh se baṛhī ke* (best of all) with or without the noun in the locative case, e.g.

ū laikā sabh mē nīk hawē, that boy is the best of all; *ū apanā ghar mē sabh mē or sabh se nīman hawē*, in his family, he is the best of all; *ī lāṭhī sabh mē or se baṛhī ke hawē*, this stick is the best of the lot.

§383. The emphatic forms of adjectives are made by adding *-ō*, e.g.

ī ām khaṭō bā mīṭhō bā, this mango is both sour and sweet.

The emphatic *-ō* appears to be from OIA *uta* and is identical with the Bengālī conjunction 'ō' meaning 'and'. (The Persian 'u', 'wa', and, is of similar origin being from OP. *utā*.)

§384. The pronominal adjectives have been treated under pronouns.

THE NUMERAL

§385. There are various kinds of numeral in Bhojpuri as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, fractionals besides which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, etc., which are expressed by various modes.

I. Cardinals

§386. The following are the cardinal numerals :—

Number	Balliā	Other dialects of Bhojpuri
1	ēk or rām	.....
2	dūl	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. dū
3	tīnī	" " " " tīn
4	cārī	" " " " cār
5	pāc .. ..	.....
6	chaw	Bs. Mi. Az. cha, Go. chay
7	sāt .. ..	.....
8	āṭh .. ..	.....

Number	Balliā	Other dialects of Bhojpuri
9	naw .. ..	....
10	das .. ..	....
11	egārah	Bs. Mi. Az. igārah Go. Sa. igāre
12	bārah .. ..	.... " " bāre
13	terah .. ..	.... " " tere
14	caṭdah .. ..	.... " " caṭde
15	panarah .. ..	.... " " panre
16	sōrah .. ..	.... " " sōre
17	satarah .. ..	.... " " satre
18	aṭhārah .. ..	.... " " aṭhāre
19	onaïs or anaïs	Bs. Mi. Az. onaïs Go. Sa. onnaïs
20	bīs .. ..	....
21	ekaïs .. ..	....
22	bāïs .. ..	....
23	tēïs .. ..	....
24	caṭbis .. ..	....
25	pacīs .. ..	....
26	chabbis .. ..	....
27	satāis .. ..	....
28	aṭhāis .. ..	....
29	ontis .. ..	....
30	tīs .. ..	....
31	ekatis .. ..	....
32	battis .. ..	....
33	taētis .. ..	....
34	cawātis .. ..	....
35	paētis .. ..	....
36	chattis .. ..	....
37	saētis .. ..	....
38	artis	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. āṛātis
39	ontālis .. ..	....
40	cālis .. ..	....
41	ektālis .. ..	....
42	beālis	Bs. Mi. Az. bayālis
43	taētālis .. ..	....
44	cauālis .. ..	....
45	paētālis .. ..	....
46	chiālis .. ..	....
47	saētālis .. ..	....
48	artālis	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. āṛatālis
49	oncās .. ..	....
50	pacās .. ..	....
51	ekāwanī	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. ekāwan
52	bāwanī	" " " " " bāwan
53	tirpanī	" " " " " tirpan
54	cauānī	" " " " " cauān
55	pacapanī	" " " " " pancāwan
56	chappanī	" " " " " chappan
57	santāwanī	" " " " " sattāwan

Number	Balliā	Other dialects of Bhojpuri
58	anṭhāwanī	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. aṭṭhāwan
59	onasatḥī	" " " " " onsatḥ
60	sāṭhī	" " " " " sāṭh
61	ekasatḥī	" " " " " ekasatḥ
62	bāsatḥī	" " " " " bāsatḥ
63	tirisatḥī	" " " " " tirsatḥ
64	caūsātḥī	" " " " " caūsātḥ
65	paēsātḥī	" " " " " payāsatḥ
66	chāchaṭḥī	" " " " " chāchaṭḥ
67	satsatḥī	Bs. sarsatḥ Mi. Az. Go. Sa. sārsatḥ
68	arsatḥī	Bs. arsatḥ Mi. Az. Go. Sa. ārsatḥ
69	onahattari	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. onhattar
70	sattari	" " " " " sattar
71	ekahattari	" " " " " ekhattar
72	bahattari	" " " " " bahattar
73	tihattari	" " " " " tihattar
74	caūhattari	" " " " " caūhattar
75	pacahattari	" " " " " pachattar
76	chihattari or chihantari	" " " " " chihattar
77	satahattari or satahan- tari	" " " " " sathattar
78	aṭḥahattari or aṭḥahan- tari	" " " " " aṭḥhattar
79	onāsī .. ..	.....
80	asī	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. Sa. assi
81	ekāsī	Bs. Mi. Az. ekyāsī
82	beāsī	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. bayāsī
83	tirāsī .. ..	.....
84	cawrāsī .. ..	.....
85	pacāsī .. ..	.....
86	chiāsī .. ..	.....
87	satāsī .. ..	.....
88	aṭhāsī .. ..	.....
89	nawāsī .. ..	.....
90	nabbē .. ..	.....
91	ekānbē .. ..	.....
92	bānbē .. ..	.....
93	tirānbē .. ..	.....
94	cawrānbē .. ..	.....
95	pancānbē .. ..	.....
96	chānbē .. ..	.....
97	santānbē .. ..	.....
98	aṭhānbē .. ..	.....
99	ninānbē .. ..	.....
100	sai	Bs. Mi. Az. Go. saw
1,000	das saī or hajār, sahasar	.....
10,000	dashajār .. ..	.....
1,00,000	lākh .. ..	.....
10,00,000	karōr or kaṭōṛ .. ..	.....

§387. The numerals in Bhojpuri confirm to the general NIA type. In the eastern forms of Māgadhan, Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā, the -h of the 'teen has fallen off, but it is fully pronounced in Bhojpuri. Maithilī and Magahlī also retain this feature and it is found in Hindi also.

As it has been discussed by Chatterji and others, the numerals show considerable amount of dialectical mixture from early MIA onward. It is unnecessary to discuss the matter further.

Change of single intervocal sibilants came in vogue in the 2nd MIA period and continued to the Apabhramśa stage. It has been carried down to recent NIA.

§388. The NIA -is in the group for twenty is based on late MIA *visa* (< OIA *vimśat* on the analogy of *trīṃśat*, *catvāriṃśat*, etc.). In the compounded forms, the labial -v- has been vocalized in Māgadhan.

§389. The forms *ontis*, *ontālis*, *onāsi*, etc., show 'on' for 'un'. This may be the result of the occurrence of a side-form* *eōna* < *ekōna*. *anaś* for *unnis* may have got its '-a-' from *aṭhārah*.

§390. In *tirpanī*, *tirisathī*, *tirāsī* and *tirānbe*, the intrusive 'r' is noteworthy. Possibly it is just an euphonic insertion.

§391. The presence of 'r' in the septuagintades requires some explanation. Quite early in the MIA period OIA *saptati* > **saptaṭi* > **sattatṭi* > **sattatṭi* > *sattari*. In Pāli occur both *sattati* and *sattari* and the latter has continued to our times (ODBL, §528).

§392. The illiterate people generally count only up to 20, onwards they count by twenties, e.g. *tīnī bīs ā pāc*, 65, i.e. 'three twenties and five'. In place of twenty, sometimes *kōrī* is also used which is an Austric word as shown by Przyluski. Even within twenty, numbers near twenty are expressed by the help of twenty, e.g. *du kam bīs*, eighteen.

§393. There is generally the practice of adding 'gō', 'ṭhō' or 'ṭhē' as help-words after numbers, e.g. *tīnī go* or *ṭhō* or *ṭhē laikā*, three boys; *sāt go* or *ṭhō* or *ṭhē rupayā*, seven rupees; *ēgō* or *ēk-ṭhō* or *ēkṭhē darkhās*, one petition.

§394. 'gō' is found in other Bihārī dialects and it occurs in distant Chittagaon as 'guā'. The origin of this is not clear. Is it not likely that it is a contraction of 'goṭā' meaning 'whole', 'entire', 'single', for the derivation of which see ODBL, pp. 779-80. Dr. Chatterji suggests that it may be from OIA 'gata', *eka gata* > MIA *ekka gaa* but the vocalism of Bhojpuri 'gō' which may be from earlier **gua* is admitted by him to be a difficulty. The derivation of 'goṭā' from *gṛta* as suggested by Dr. Chatterji may be requisitioned in the absence of better explanation; a side-form **gṛta* > **guta* > **gua* may be allowed to be assumed.

'ṭhō' and 'ṭhe'. Dr. Chatterji would connect with root $\sqrt{sthā}$, *ekasthaka* > *ekkaṭṭhae* > *ekṭhe*, originally nominative derived from MIA. The vowel 'o' in 'ṭho' is, however, difficult to explain.

§395. All cardinals above a hundred are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction, e.g.

101, *ek saī ēk*; 102, *ek saī duī*; 103, *ek saī tīnī*; 104, *ek saī cārī*;
105, *ek saī pāc*; 110, *ek saī das*; 115, *ek saī panarah*; 120, *ek saī bīs*;
125, *ek saī pacīs* or *sawā saī*; 150, *ek saī pacās* or

dēṣh saī ; 200, du saī ; 225, du saī pacis or sawā du saī ; 250, du saī pacās or aṣhāī saī ; 300, tīnī saī ; 325, tīn saī pacis or sawā tīn saī ; etc. ; 1,395, ēk haṣār tīn saī pancānbē ; 1,75,378, ēk lākh pachattar haṣār tīn saī athāhantari ; 15,95,485, panarah lākh pancānbē haṣār cār saī pacāsī ; 1,32,58,426, ēk kaṣor battis lākh anṭhāwanī haṣār cār saī chabbis.

§396. The cardinals from 101 to 199 are formed in a way altogether different when they are employed in the multiplication table. In everyday talk, however, the ordinary forms are employed.

§397. From 101 to 118, the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of -uttar (above), the initial u- of the latter combining with the final -a of the preceding word becomes 'ō'. Thus 108 is aṭhōttarso, i.e. aṭh+uttar+so, eight above hundred.

§398. From 119 to 168, a connecting vowel 'ā' is interposed instead of uttar except in the case of 140 and 160 where the forms are cāl-so and sāṭh-so. In the rest, the original form remains unchanged.

§399. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound, e.g. 153, tirpannāso ; 162, bāsaṭṭhāso ; etc. The forms of these cardinals are the following :—

101, ekottar-so ; 102, dilottarso ; 103, tilottarso ; 104, calottarso ; 105, pācottarso ; 106, chilottarso ; 107, satlottarso ; 108, aṭhot-tarso ; 109, nawottarso ; 110, dahottarso ; 111, eḡarahottar-so, eḡrottarso ; 112, barahottarso ; 113, terahottarso ; 114, caūdhottarso ; 115, panarahottarso ; 116, sorahottarso ; 117, satrahottarso ; 118, aṭharahottarso ; 119, onsaīsāso ; 120, bisāso ; 121, ekaīsāso ; 122, baīsāso ; 123, teīsāso ; 124, caubisā-so ; 125, pacisāso ; 126, chabbisāso ; 127, sataisāso ; 128, aṭhaisāso ; 129, ontisāso ; 130, tisāso ; 131, ektisāso ; 139, on-tālso ; 140, cālso ; 141, ektālso ; 149, oncāso ; 150, deṣso ; 151, ekawanāso ; 152, bawannāso ; 153, tirpannāso ; 154, caū-wannāso ; 155, pacpannāso ; 156, chapannāso ; 157, satwan-nāso ; 158, aṭhwannāso ; 159, onsaṭṭhāso ; 160, sāṭhso ; 161, eksaṭṭhāso ; 169, onhattarso ; 170, sattarso ; 179, onnasīso ; 180, assīso ; 181, ekāsīso ; 189, nawāsīso ; 190, nabbeso ; 191, ekānbēso ; 192, bānbeso ; 193, tirānbeso ; 200, duīso.

§400. In dilottarso, tilottarso, calottarso, -l- appears to be an euphonic insertion (e.g. di-l-ottar-so, ti-l-ottar-so, ca-l-ottar-so, etc.). In bisāso, ekaīsāso, the -ā- may be as much the result of accent as an adjectival -ā-.

2. Ordinals

§401. The ordinals, like substantives, admit of weak and strong forms. Sometimes we come across redundant forms also. The strong and the redundant forms are made in the same way as that of adjectives. They behave in every respect like the adjective. They are inflected in the oblique cases.

§402. The first four ordinals are somewhat irregular, e.g.

- 1st pahil or pahilā < *pratha-illa.
- 2nd dūsar or dusarā < *dvisara-.
- 3rd tisar or tisarā < *tri-sara-.
- 4th cauth or caūthā < caturtha-.

§403. The rest of the ordinals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of *-wā* to the latter, e.g.

mas. *pācawā*, *chathawā*, *satawā*, and fem. *pacawī*, *pacāī*, *chathwī*, *chathāī*, *satawī*, *sataī*, etc.

For the origin of *-wā*, *-wī*, *-ī*, see §281 under 'The Formative Affixes'.

§404. The gender, like the adjective, is not rigid, e.g.

pahil or *pahilā larikā*, the first son; *pahil* or *pahilā lariki*, the first daughter; *pahil* or *pahilā lāthi*, the first stick; but *pahilī* or *pahilī laikī* and *lāthī* will be also used.

3. Multiplicative Numerals

§405. The sense of twice, thrice, etc., is sometimes expressed in Bhojpuri by using the words *tōr*, *tōrī*, *tōrī*; *hālā hālī*, *hālī*; *bēr*, *bērī*, *bērī*.

The origin of *tōr* is Perso-Arabic word *taur*, *hālā* < Perso-Arabic *hāl* حال meaning 'condition', 'occasion', and *bēr* < OIA *velā*. The '-ī' is pleonastic.

Twice is thus resolved to 'two times', *du* or *duī tōr*, *tōrī* or *tōrī* or *hālā*, *hālī*, *hālī* or *bēr*, *bērī*, *bērī*.

§406. The following words are used for multiplication tables:—

- (1) *ekanne*, *kā*, once; (2) *dunī*, twice; (3) *tiā*, *tiāī*, *tirikā*, *tiri*, *tirike*, *tirik*, *ti*, thrice; (4) *caūk*, *caūke*, four times; (5) *pāce*, *pace*, five times; (6) *chak*, *chake*, *chakā*, *chakke*, six times; (7) *sātē*, seven times; (8) *āthē*, *athāī*, *āth*, eight times; (9) *nawā*, *nāwā*, nine times; (10) *dahā*, *dahā*, *dahāī*, ten times.

§407. '*ekanne*' is used in the multiplication table of 'one' as *ekannē ek*, $1 \times 1 = 1$; but in other cases '*kā*' is used. Similarly, '*tirikā*' is used in the multiplication table of three, e.g. '*tin tirikā naw*', $3 \times 3 = 9$. As to the other alternative forms, no hard and fast rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said that the shorter forms as '*ti*', '*chak*', '*āth*' are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence.

The following tables are given as examples:—

$2 \times 1 = 2$, etc.

du kā dūi.

du duni cāri.

du tiāī chaw.

du caūke āth.

du pāce or *pāce das*.

du chakā bārah.

du sātē caūdah.

du āthe sorah.

du nawā athārah.

du dahāī bis.

$13 \times 1 = 13$, etc.

terah kā terah.

terah duni chabbis.

terah ti ontālis.

terah caūkā bāwanī.

terah pāce or *pāce paēsathī*.

terah chak athaattri.

ter sāte ekānbe.
 ter-w-āṭh cawalotrā so.
 ter nawā satr-hotrāso.
 terah dahāī tīsāso.

4. Collectives

§408. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums in Bhojpuri:—

jōrā or jōrī < Late Sk. root \sqrt{yuj} as in *yujaka*; cf. Bhojpuri root \sqrt{ju} , to unite, to collect. Since unity will be at least between two, so the secondary meaning is 'a pair'; *gaṇḍā*, a group of four, comes from Muṇḍā and Santālī *gaṇḍā* (see Introduction of 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', pp. 14-16); *gāhī* < OIA *graha-*, five. Can it mean the extra piece 'seized' as over-weight after the usual four as finished a transaction? cf. E. Beng. *hālī*, W. Beng. *phāu*, Bhoj. *ghālū* meaning the extra object or over-weight which the purchaser thinks he has a right to in buying small articles; *kōrī*, a score; *saēkarā* or *saēkarā* < *śatakr̥ta-*, a hundred; sts. *sahassar* < *sahasra*, *hajār* < Pers. *hazār*, a thousand; *lākh* < *lakṣa*, a hundred thousand; *karōr* or *karor* (cf. Hindi *karōr* and Beng. *krōr*) = *krōḍa*. It seems to be a false Sanskritization of a vernacular *kōḍa*, *kōḍī* agreeing with the ts. *kōḍī* (ODBL, §533).

§409. Collectives may also be formed by adding *ā* to the cardinals, e.g. *bisā* < *vimśakā*, a score; *tīsā* < *triṃśakā*; *cālīsā* so, *cālīsā*, long-sightedness after the age of forty or the day of the commemoration of the death of Hussain on the anniversary of the 40th day of 'Karbālā', where Hussain was killed. In the former meaning the word retains its full adjectival sense.

§410. The words *-ekkā*, a one; *dukkā*, or *dukkī*, a two; *tikkā* or *tikkī*, a three; *caṭkā*, a four; *pañjā*, a five; *chakkā*, a six; *sattā*, a seven; *aṭṭhā*, an eight; *nahalā*, a nine; *dahalā*, a ten are used in playing cards. These words are of unknown provenance. *ekkā*, *dukkā*, *sattā* with double consonants and *dah* for *daśa* suggest Punjābī origin.

Numeral Compounds

§411. A number of numeral compounds with *harā* and *har*, *berī*, *berī* are found in Bhojpuri. The origin of *hārā*, *harā* is OIA *hara* meaning division. Similarly, *bār* < OIA *vāra*, and *berī* < OIA *velā*, possibly *berī* is a locative form and hence 'i', e.g.

ekāharā, onefold, single; *dōharā*, twofold, double; *tehārā*, threefold; *caṭharā*, fourfold, quadruple.

§412. A number of numeral compounds are also made by adding *bār*, *ber* or *berī* to the cardinals, e.g.

sāt bār, *ber* or *berī*, seven times, etc.

5. Proportionals

§413. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word '*gunā*', times, to the cardinal numbers, e.g.

duī gunā, two times; *tinī gunā*, three times; *cāri gunā*, four times; *pāc gunā*, five times; etc.

§414. There are also the contracted forms *ḍugunā*, twice; *tiḡunā*, thrice; etc. Side by side with *ḍugunā*, we get also *dūnā* which as the loss of 'g' shows is an inheritance from MIA.

6. Subtractive

§415. Subtractive numerals are made by adding *kam*, less. These are employed by the uneducated persons. The origin of *kam* is Persian *kam*, e.g. 1

99 is *ek kam saī*, one hundred less one; 48 is *ḍuī kam pacās*, fifty less two.

7. Distributives

§416. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral. Thus *ḍuī ḍuī*, by twos, two each; *das das*, by tens, ten each.

§417. Generally the repetition is followed by verbal form *karike* (Kh. *Bōli kar ke*) but sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word *pāche* or *piche*, e.g.

ḍuī ḍuī karike jā lōg, go each in the company of two; *laiḡan ke ḍuī ḍuī mithāī dihalasi* or *laiḡan pāche* or *piche ḍuī ḍuī mithāī dihalasi*, he gave the boys two sweetmeats each.

8. Fractionals

§418. The following fractional numbers occur in Bhojpuri. In fact, they are common to all NIA :—

- $\frac{1}{2}$, *paūā* or *pāwā* < MIA *pāwa-*, *pāa-*, OIA *pāda-*.
- $\frac{1}{3}$, *tiḡāī* < OIA *tri-bhāgikā*.
- $\frac{1}{4}$, *ādh* or *ādhā* < OIA *ardha*.
- $1\frac{1}{2}$, *ḍēḡh* or *ḍēḡhā* < MIA *diadḍha*, OIA *dyyardha*, cf. Beng. *dēḡa*, colloquially we find *dēḡa* in Bengālī and *ḍēḡ(h)* in Kh. Bōli where initial dental is cerebralized.
- $2\frac{1}{2}$, *aḡhāī* (with earlier *-ḡh-*) < MIA *aḍḍhaṭṭiya* < OIA *ardha-tṛṭiya*, cf. Oriyā *aḡhāī* and Beng. *āḡāī*.
- $3\frac{1}{4}$, *āḡūthā* < OIA *ardha-caturtha*.
- $4\frac{1}{4}$, *ḍhāḡūcā* < *ardha-pañcama*.

The intermediary forms are **aḍḍhawañcam* * *aḍḍhañca*, *ḍhañca* by apocope, -g. being a glidic insertion.

- $5\frac{1}{4}$, *paḡūcā* on the analogy of *ḍhāḡūcā* with 'p' from *pāc*.
- Plus $\frac{1}{2}$, *sawā*, *sawāī*, *sawāiyā* < MIA *savda-* < OIA *sapāda-*.
- Plus $\frac{1}{4}$, *sāḡhē* < *sārdha-*.

A quarter less, *pawan* > OIA *pādōna-*.

9. Definitives

§419. To add the sense of definiteness to a number -ō or -ū is added to it, if it ends in a consonant or in -ū, if it ends in some other vowel, e.g. *ḍunō*, both (inserting -n-); *tinū*, all the three; *cārū*, all the four, *naō*, all the nine; *dasō*, all the ten.

The -o and -u affixes with -hu are found in VR and according to Dr. Chatterji, these are pleonastic affix: -hu, -u, -o < *-khu*, *khalu*? (Intro. to VR, §40.)

10. *Indefinitives*

§420. To express the sense of indefiniteness **-ani** or **-anhi** is added to it, e.g.

bisani or **bisanhi**, scores; **tisani** or **tisanhi**, thirties; **saṅkaraṇi** or **saṅkaraṇhi**, hundreds; **hajārani** or **hajāranhi**, thousands.

The origin of **-ani** and **-anhi** seems to be the same as that of genitive plural affix.

§421. Indefiniteness in a number is also expressed either by suffixing **ek**, one, to the numeral as **das ek**, about ten; **saī ek**, about one hundred; etc.; to **ek** itself **ādh**, half, is added as **ekādh**, hardly one. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules:—

- (a) Every number is used with the one immediately following, as **tini cāri**, about three; **das egārah**, about ten; etc.
- (b) Ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten, as **das panarah** or **das bis**, about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty; **bis pacis** or **bis tis**, about twenty; etc.
- (c) Exceptionally two is used with four as **duī cāri**, about two; five with seven as **pāc sāt**, about five; eight with ten as **āṭh das**, about eight; ten with twelve as **das bārah**, about ten; twelve with fourteen as **bārah caūdah**, about twelve; twenty with twenty-five as **bis pacis**, about twenty.

CHAPTER V

THE PRONOUN

§422. The OIA pronominal forms as in Vedic and Sanskrit show certain regularity and there has been a good deal of standardization. The Bhoj. pronouns are derived from these but there has been a great deal of curtailment of the old forms on the one hand and new buildings in late MIA and early MIA stages on the other. For many of the pronouns, we have in Bhoj. quite a bewildering number of forms, but these are reducible to a few original types.

As in the case of the noun, the various oblique forms were largely lost and the genitive and the locative in *-hi* took a prominent place. The distinction of gender which was absent in the first and second persons but which was present in other pronouns in OIA was lost to Bhoj., as in most NIA. The new genitive forms for pronouns in Bhoj. as much as in other NIA which go back to MIA period are really adjectives agreeing in number and gender with noun governed by the genitive but even here the adjectival sense is weakened—the ordinary or masculine forms being also used for the feminine noun as well, e.g. *hamārī gāi* often becomes *hamār gāi*, my cow.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§423. Bhojpuri possesses the pronouns for the first and second persons only. For the third person, the 'Remote Demonstrative Pronoun' is used except that the base of the OIA third personal pronoun survives in some forms. In some of the dialects, these pronouns have two forms—the shorter and the longer, as Grierson has termed them (L. S. Gr., Part II, §23).

(A) First Person

§424. Bhojpuri evidently started with the following forms:—

			Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	..	..	mě	hama
Gen.	..	..	mo (mo-ra)	hamana, hamāra

These have evolved from OIA through MIA as follows:—

Nom. *mayā+ena* > *mai* > *mě*.

asma- > *ahma-* > **hamma* > *hama*.

Gen. *mama* > **maīva* > *mo*; **mama-kara* > *mo-ra*; *asmākam* > *amhā-ṇam* > *hamana*; **asma-kara* > *hamāra*.

The original nominative singular *aḥam*, MIA *ahakam*, Ap. *haū+pl. asme* (for *Vayam*) > **hami* are now lost; they are likely to have existed in the oldest Bhojpuri.

In standard Bhojpuri, the original singular nominative (< instrumental of OIA), viz. *mě*, has become practically obsolete—it is sometimes heard among women as in '*mě kā jānō ē bābā*', what do I know, O Bābā?—the plural '*ham*' being the one form used for 'I'.

§425. We may now consider the various Bhoj. forms, standard and dialectal, which are based on the above early Bhoj. forms :—

Standard (Balliā)

		Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	..	ham	hamānī, hamānī kā
Obl.	..	ham, hamārā	hamānī

Gen. Adj. Dir. **hamār**, my, qualifying masculine and feminine both (but **hamārī** occurs occasionally qualifying feminine nouns only).

Gen. Adj. obl. **hamārā**.

Examples :

ham khañlī, I ate; **hamānī, hamānikā khañlī** or **khañlī jā**, we ate;
ham, hamārā ke or **kē dā**, give us; **ham, hamārā se aisan**
kām nā hō sakelā, such a deed is not possible by me.

hamānī se aisan kām nā hō sakelā, such a deed is not possible by me.

ham, hamārā se tu ek din piṭaibā, one day you will be beaten by me; **hamānī se tu ek din piṭaibā**, one day you will be beaten by us; **ham, hamārā se rupyā matī māṅgā**, do not ask money from me; **hamānī se rupyā matī māṅgā**, do not ask money from us; **hamārā mē kawanō chal kapaṭ ke bāt nā paibā**, you won't find any deceit in me; **hamānī mē kawanō chal kapaṭ ke bāt nā paibā**, you won't find any deceit in us.

Note.—**ham**, as a singular oblique seems to be a recent importation from Hindī where it is used as a regular plural oblique. The older and commonly used form in Bhojpuri is **hamārā**.

§426. Typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below :—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

		Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	..	mañ, ham	ham lōg or sabh ham logan or sabhan
Obl.	..	mo, more, ham, hamāre	ham lōg or sabh, logan or sabhan, hamman

Genitive Adj. **mōr, hamār**.

§427. Western Bhojpuri

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

		Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	..	ham	ham lōg or lōgan, hamāhan
Obl.	..	ham (hammē in dative and hamāre in locative only)	as above

Genitive Adj. **hamār** in masculine and **hamārī** in feminine only.

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

		Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	..	maṃ, ham	hamāhan
Obl.	..	mō, ham	Same as above

hammē in dative and mōrē, hamāre in dative and locative only.
Genitive Adj. mōr, hamār (masc.); mōrī, hamārī (fem.).

§428. Nagpuriā or Sadānī

		Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	..	mōē, ham	hamārē, hamāre-man, hamānī, hamānī-man, hamārīn
Obl.	..	mōē (inferior) ham (superior)	Same as above

Genitive Adj. mōr, hamar, hamār

It must be noted that in mōē, there is contamination between maī, mē < mayā + ena + mo (< mama) + ē < ena. Similar contaminated forms occurred in Middle Bengālī mōē, mōne, etc., besides maž.

Origin.—

§429. As a prelude to a consideration of the current Bhoj. forms, the origin of the basic or old Bhoj. has been given before. The question may be studied in details here.

Bhojpuri 1st person Sg. mē goes back to MIA instrumental maē (< OIA mayā), Ap. maī. The nasalization in Ap. and in Bhojpuri has been rightly explained by an influence of the regular instrumental affix -ēna (ODBL, §539). The nasalization has been preserved in Hindī and Punjābī 'maī', Gujrāti and Maithilī 'mē', early Kōśālī (Awadhī) maī, Sindhī and Ōṛiyā mū, old Marāṭhī myā, modern Marāṭhī mī. In Bengālī and Assamese mui, mai, the nasalization is implied although not indicated explicitly in writing. The northern standard and western Bhojpuri form mayā is also derived from this maī.

The oblique base mo (Gorakhpur) can be derived from Sk. mama (ODBL, §541). The nasalization in the oblique base mō (Āzamgarh) appears to be just a local and dialectical. It has also led to the creation of the contaminated form mōē for the nominative as noted above.

The original OIA nom. aham is not preserved in Bhoj. as we have seen. ham is regularly used as the nominative and oblique singular in all Bihārī dialects. In Hindī and Kōśālī (Awadhī), it is used in plural only. It is from the OIA base asma- through Pk. amhē in the nominative and amha- in the other cases as the base form, with the transfer of aspiration to the initial position (hama < *hamma < amha-).

The old singular genitive mo- (e.g. in Brajbhākhā, 'mo mana anata kahā sukha pāwē', Sūradāsa) became an oblique base: a new genitive on the basis of addition of -kara became established in the eastern speeches: mama-kara > *mō-ara, mōra. This is the original singular genitive of new formation. An extension of this mo to moha (through contamination with the nominative and other pronouns and a new locative mo-hī) is also found in mohār (dialectical). The Hindī and Punjābī mērā (mēra) would appear to be based on mama + kara (< kārya): cf. mamera in 'Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary' of the eighth century, when mamera = mābera, an earlier form of mēra-.

The genitive *hamār* can be derived only from the base *asma-+kara*. Equivalents are found in Beng. and Assam. *āmār*, Oṛiyā *āmbhāra*, Hindi *hamārā*, Gujrātī *amāro*.

The oblique *hamārā* is a strong form of the genitive *hamār* by adding an emphatic adjectival 'ā' at the end: the final 'ā' being the most strongly accented syllable in the word, the 'ā' in the second syllable became weakened and then was dropped. (*hamār*—*hamārā* > *hamārā*).

The suffix -ani, -an in the direct and oblique plural forms *hamāni* (Balliā), *hamman* (Gorakhpur), *hamāhan* (with a euphonic 'h' in Banāras and Mirzāpur) is the survival of the MIA genitive plural, as we have seen before.

In the nominative plural *hamanikā* or *haman kā*, this 'kā' is the strong form of the Bhojpuri genitive postposition -ke (also Magahi -*ke* and Maithili -*ka*). There has been a change of meaning also: *hamanikā*, at first meant 'of us' and then 'we'. A similar process of transference of the genitive (whether old or new) to the nominative is noted in other NIA speeches also: cf. middle Beng. *āmhārā*, new Beng. *āmṛā*; and cf. also Kōśalī *haman* = *amhāṇam* and Bundeli: *hamāre*, *tihāre*.

(B) Second Person

§430. The Old Bhoj. bases evidently were the following:—

		Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	..	tu, tū	tumha (?), tūha
Inst.	..	taī	....
Gen.	..	to, (to-ra), to-h (tohara)	tōhan

The nominative singular *tu, tū* represent OIA *tu* (as in *tu-am*) as well as *tvam* = MIA *tū, tūm*. The OIA *yusme* became MIA *tumhe* in the nominative, and the base *yusma* > *tumha* apparently gave Bhoj. *tūha*, but the nasalization is frequently lost. The original instrumental *taī* < *tvayā+ena* has merged into the nominative, only here in the second person, the original nominative forms *tu, tū* still remain. *to* < *tava* does not present any difficulty nor *to-ra* < *tava-kara*. The extended form *toha* goes parallel to *moha* with -h- evidently from the plural or from the locative affix -hi. *yusmākam* > MIA *tumhāṇam* gave *tōhana*: it is likely that the original form in Bhoj. was **tumhāṇa*, and the nasalization is not indicated now as the word already has a nasal.

§431. The following are the forms of the pronoun of the second person in standard Bhojpuri:—

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	.. tu, tū, tū, tū (ordinary) tē (tē) (inferior)	tōhan, tōhanī, tu, tū, lōg, lōganī or logānī, tohānikā
Ob.	.. tō, tōrā, toh, tohārā	All the above forms except tohānikā
Genitive Adj. Dir. tōr and tohār		
Genitive Adj. Obl. tōrā and tohārā		

Dir. sg. examples: (1) *tu* or *tū kahā gaī rahalā hā*. (2) *tē*, (*tē*) *kahā gaī rahalā hā*, where did you go?

Note 1.—*tē* (*tē*) is used only for the younger, chiefly children and servants in one's own family. It expresses either deep affection or contempt. A son will always use *tē*, *tē* for his mother. Similarly parents even for their grown-up son or daughter may use *tu*, *tū* or *tē*, *tē*. *tu*, *tū*, *tē*, *tē* are commonly used in addressing the lowest classes and the low-caste people always use *tē*, *tē* among themselves.

Dir. pl. examples: *tōhan*, *tōhanī*, *tu*, *tū lōg*, *lōganī* or *lōganī kahā gaī rahalā hā*, where did you people go? *tohānikā kahā gaī rahalā hā sa*, *sā* or *sanī*, where did you (younger or menial) people go?

Note 2.—When *tohānikā* is used in direct singular, it refers to a woman. A husband, for example, may ask his wife *tohānikā kahā gaī rahalū ha sa*, *sā* or *sanī*, where did you (wife) go?

Obl. sg. examples: (1) *tō*, *toh*, *tohārā se kahālī*, I told you. (2) *tōrā se kahālī*, I told you (younger or menial). Obl. Sg. and Pl. (3) *tohanī*, *se kahālī*, I told you or you people.

Note 3.—*tō*, *toh*, *tohārā* are ordinarily respectful terms. Thus a son can use them while addressing his father or uncle. But *tōrā* is used for the younger, chiefly children, servants and women. In plural *tohanī* (without *lōg*, *lōganī* or *lōganī*) is used for menials, children and women but in singular it is used for wife only.

Obl. pl. *tōhan*, *tohanī*, *tu*, *tū lōg*, *lōganī* or *lōganī se kahālī*, I told you people.

Genitive Adj. Dir.: *ē kākā haī tohār kitāb hawē*, O uncle! this is your book. *arē camarā! tōr kā nāwā hawē*, O shoemaker! what is your name? *ē māī! tōr gahānwā kahā bāī*, well mother! where is your ornament?

Note 4.—*tōr* is used chiefly for children, menials and women irrespective of gender. It either expresses contempt or love.

Genitive Adj. Obl. example: *tōrā* or *tohārā bēṭā se*, from your son.

In the plural, the oblique is used with the genitive postposition *ke*, e.g. *haī tohan* or *tohanī lōg*, *lōganī* or *lōganī ke kitāb hawē*, this book belongs to you people.

§432. Typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below:—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>taī</i> , <i>tū</i>	<i>tū logan</i> , <i>sabhan</i> , <i>pacan</i>
Obl. <i>tō</i> , <i>tōrē</i> , <i>tūh</i>	All the above forms
Genitive Adj. Dir. <i>tōr</i> , <i>tuhār</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl. <i>tōrā</i> , <i>tuhārā</i>	

For the use of *taī*, see Note 1 of the standard Bhojpuri in previous page.

§433.

Western Bhojpuri

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	təʃ, tũ	tũ, tonhan, lōg, lōgan
Obl.	tō, tōh, tuh	All the above forms
Genitive Adj. Dir.	tōr, tuhār	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	tōrā, tuhārā, tohrē	

For the use of **təʃ** see Note 1 of the standard Bhojpuri in the previous page.

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	təʃ, tũ	tũ han or hanē
Obl.	tō, tōh	All the above forms
Genitive Adj. Dir.	tōr, tuhār	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	tōrē, tuhārē	

For the use of **təʃ**, see Note 1 of the standard Bhojpuri in the previous page.

§434.

Nagpurīā or Sadānī

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	tōṣ (inferior) tōh (superior)	toḥārē, toḥārē-man, toḥānī, toḥānī-man
Obl.	tō	Same as above
Genitive Adj. tōr (sing.)	tōhar (honorific)	tor-man, tōhar-man

Origin:

§435. A consideration of the origin of the basic forms of Bhojpuri being necessary at the outset to understand the current forms, this has been given before. It will be seen that the variations are just on the above bases postulated for old Bhojpuri. The use of what is really a double genitive for the nominative in the plural (**toḥānikā**, cf. **hamānikā**) is noticeable in the second person also.

(C) *Third Person*

§436. OIA *sa-* in the singular nominative base survives in Bhojpuri only as a correlative in stereotyped and proverbial expressions, e.g. **je je āī se se gāl**, lit. who who came, they they went; **je jāīsan karī, se tāīsan pāī**, lit. who as he does, he so obtains. This *se* is the same as Bengālī and Oriyā *se* < **sai* < *sae* < *sage* < *sakaḥ* = *sa-* or *saḥ*. The oblique base *ta-* is, however, more current: the genitive singular is **te-kar, tekārā, takar** (the change in vowel from *ta* to *te* is due to *se*. 'te' itself is sometimes used for *se*, e.g. **je jāīsan karī te tāīsan pāī**). These are the only two survivals of OIA *sa-* and *ta-* in Bhojpuri. 'sē' has also survived in two other Bihārī dialects, Maithilī and Magahī. In Bhojpuri (also in Maithilī and Magahī) regular composition plurals are made from *se*, **te**, as **se-lōg**, they people; **se-sabh**, they all; or **te-lōg, te-sabh**, etc.

§437. In modern Bhoj., the Remote Demonstrative has taken the place of the 'third personal pronoun', as noted before. This is also the case with Hindi and Kōsali but Bengālī, Assamese and Oṛiyā preserve the original third person to a fuller extent.

THE DEMONSTRATIVES

(A) Proximate Demonstrative

§438. The following are the forms of Proximate Demonstrative (meaning 'this' or 'those') in standard Bhojpuri—

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. I, haī (non-honorific)	inhankā, hinhankā, inhanīkā, hinhanikā
inhī, hinhī	I, haī, inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhani lōg, lōgaṇī, logaṇī
ihākā (honorific)	ihā sabh, sabhan sabhanīkā
Obl. ē, eh hē (non-honorific)	inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhani ē, eh, hē, inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhani lōg, lōgaṇī, lōgaṇī
Obl. ihā (honorific)	ihā sabh, sabhan, sabhani
Genitive Adj. Dir. ēkar,	
hēkar,	inhikar, hinhikar
Genitive Adj. Obl. ekarā,	
hekarā,	inhikarā, hinhikarā

Sometimes ēkarī, hēkarī, inhikarī, hinhikarī are used as direct genitive adjectives in feminine only.

Note.—The direct singular I, haī, inhī, hinhī are used for the elders (excluding mother who is treated along with youngsters) and the younger of both the sexes, masculine and feminine, but in each case the verb changes.

Dir. sg. examples: (1) I, haī, inhī, hinhī kahā gaī rahalē hā, where did he (the elder brother, father or uncle) go? (2) I, haī, inhī, hinhī kahā gaī rahali hā, where did she (the grandmother) go? (3) I, haī kahā gaī rahal hā, where did he (the child, younger son or servant) go? (4) I, haī kahā gaī rahali hā, where did she (the mother, younger sister, daughter or maid-servant) go? (5) ihākā kahā gaī rahali hā, where did he or she (the respected sir or lady) go?

Dir. pl. examples: (1) I, haī, inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhani, lōg, lōgaṇī, logaṇī kahā gaī rahal hā, where did these people (the elder brothers, uncles) go? (2) I, haī, inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhani lōg, lōgaṇī, logaṇī kahā gaī rahali hā, where did these persons (elder women) go? (3) inhankā, inhanīkā, hinhankā, hinhanikā kahā gaī rahale hā sa, sā, sanī, where did these people (children, servants, etc.) go? (4) inhankā, inhanīkā, hinhankā, hinhani kā, kahā gaī rahali hā sa, sā, sanī, where did these persons (younger sisters, daughters, maid-servants, etc.) go? (5) ihā sabh, sabhan, sabhanīkā kahā gaī rahali hā, where did these (respected sirs or ladies) go?

Obl. sg. examples: (1) inhīkā, hinhīkā sē kām nā calī, this (friend, brother, uncle, wife) cannot work. (2) ē, eh, hē sē kām nā calī, this (male or female servant, or mother) cannot work. (3) ihā sē kām nā calī, this (respected sir or lady) cannot work.

Obl. pl. examples: (1) ē, eh, he, inhan, inhanī lōg, lōgaṇī, logaṇī sē kām nā calī, these people (friends, brothers, elder women) cannot

work. (2) *inhan, inhanī, hinhan, hinhanī sē kām nā calī*, these (younger sisters, daughters or male and female servants) cannot work. (3) *ihā sabh, sabhan, sabhanī sē kām nā calī*, these (respected sirs or ladies) cannot work.

Note.—*I* and *hai* are used as direct adjectives and *ē, eh* as oblique adjectives irrespective of gender.

Examples: *I, hai laikā*, this boy; *I, hai laikī*, this girl; *ē, eh laikā se*, from this boy; *ē eh laikī se*, from this girl.

§439. The typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below:—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>I, hai</i>	<i>I, hai, enhan, henhan, lōg or lōgan kar</i>
Obl.	<i>ē, eh, heh</i>	<i>I, hai, enhan henhan, log or logan kare</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>ekar, hekar</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>ekāre, hekāre</i>	

§440. *Western Bhojpuri*

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>I, hai</i>	<i>I, hai sab, log, logan</i>
Obl.	<i>ē (non-honorific for servants) in, en (honorific)</i>	<i>ināhan, enāhan, henāhan, I, en, ehī enāhan, enhan lōg, lōgan</i>
Genitive Adj.	<i>ēkar, hekar, ekaraj</i>	<i>kar</i>

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>I, hai</i>	<i>I, hai, sab or lōg</i>
Obl.	<i>ē (non-honorific) in (honorific)</i>	<i>ināhan, inhan hināhan, hinhan ehī, ināhan lōgan</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>ekar, hekar (non-honorific)</i>	
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>inkaj, hinkaj (honorific)</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>ekarē, hekarē (non-honorific)</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl. honorific	<i>is the same as direct</i>	

§441. *Nagpurī or Sadāni*

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>I, ihē</i>	<i>I-man</i>
Obl.	<i>I</i>	<i>The same</i>
Genitive Adj.	<i>I-kar</i>	<i>I-kar-man</i>

• *Origin:*

§442. The basic forms for old Bhoj. appear to have been the following:—

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	i, ē	....
Gen.	eha, iha (ē-kara)	i(h)ana, e(h)ana (+kara)

i or ē would appear to be the OIA base *eta-* > MIA *ea*, with influence from *idam*, *iyam*, etc. This *e-ta* = base *ai* or *ay* + base *ta*, which we find in the—*ṣaḥ* (*e*+*ṣaḥ*). Already in the Late MIA it became a well-established equivalent of *ē*, cf.

bāla-canda, Vijjāvaī-bhāsā;
duhū nahi laggaī dujjana-hāsā.
ō paramēsara-hara-sira sōhaī;
ī niccai nāra-maṇa mohāī.

—'Kirttilatā' of Vidyāpati

The original plural (nominative) being lost, the singular is functioning for the plural also. The genitive singular *etasya* > MIA *eassa*, Ap. *eaha* is the basis of *eha* and *iha*, and *eteṣām* = MIA *eṭṭāṇāṃ*, *eāṇāṃ* of old Bhoj. *eapa*, *ehana*, which through transference of the *-h-* and *-n-* gave the various Bhoj. forms *inha*, *enah* *ihā*, etc., which were translated to the sphere of the honorific singular also. With the emphatic *-i* < *hi*, added, we get forms like *inhī*, etc. In *haī* as an equivalent of *ē* or *i*, we have the genitive base *eha* with transference of the aspirate the emphatic *hi* in all likelihood.

A prothetic *h-* appears to be present in the forms *hinhī*, *hinhani*, *hinhikā*, *hunhukā*, etc. *inhī* can also possibly be derived < **enha* < **eāṇāṃ* < **eṭṭāṇāṃ* < **etāṣām* < *eteṣām* with *hi* from the instrumental plural *-hi* of MIA. The form *hinhī* is simply *h*+*inhī*. The respectful demonstrative pronoun *ihā-kā* is = *ihā*+*kā* where *ihā*, here, may also be explained as pronominal adverb of place (cf. English (this, here) man = (this) man and Sk. *atra-bhavan*, *tatra-bhavan* and also Ap. *yadrum*, *tadrum* < *yatra*, *tatra*+*um* (neut.)).

The direct plural *inhan*, *inhani* are in fact *inha*+*an*, *inha*+*ani* double genitives in origin while *inhahankā*, *inhanikā* are triple genitives in origin. The forms *inhankā* and *hinhanikā* are the duplicates of *inhankā* and *inhani-kā* with prothetic *h-*.

The genitive forms *ēkar* and *hekar* are respectively *ē*+*kar* and *h*+*ē*+*kar* while the oblique genitive forms *ēkarā* and *hēkarā* are the strong forms of *ēkar* and *hēkar* like *hamārā* or *hamār*. For the explanation of the final *'-ā'* see *hamārā* (§429).

(B) *The Remote Demonstrative*

§443. The following are the forms of Remote Demonstrative (meaning 'that' or 'those') in standard Bhojpuri:—

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	u, haū, unhī, hunhī, uhākā (honorific)	u haū, unhan, unhani, hunhan, hunhani lōg, lōgani, logāni, unhankā, unhani- kā, hunhankā, hunhanikā uhā sabh, sabhan, sabhani kā
Obl.	ō, ōh, ho, unhukā uhā (honorific)	ō, oh, hō, unhan, unhani, hunhan, hunhani lōg, lōgani, lōgāni uhā sabh, sabhan, sabhani

Genitive Adj. Dir. *ōkar*,
hōkar, *unhukar*, *hunhukar*
 Genitive Adj. Obl. *ōkarā*,
hōkarā, *unhūkarā*, *hunhūkarā*

Sometimes *ōkarī*, *hōkarī*, *unhukarī*, *hunhukarī* are used as direct genitive adjectives in feminine only.

Note.—For the use of *u*, *haū*, *unhī*, *hunhī*, see the note under §438.

Dir. sg. examples: (1) *u*, *haū*, *unhī*, *hunhī kahā gāl rahalē hā*, where did he (the elder brother, father, uncle) go? (2) *u haū, unhī, hunhī kahā gāl rahalī hā*, where did she (the grandmother or some elder lady) go? (3) *u*, *haū kahā gāl rahal hā*, where did he (the child, younger son or servant) go? (4) *u*, *haū kahā gāl rahalī hā*, where did she (the mother, younger sister, daughter or maid-servant) go? (5) *uhākā kahā gāl rahalī hā*, where did he or she (the respected sir or lady) go?

Dir. pl. examples: (1) *u*, *haū*, *unhan*, *unhanī*, *hunhan*, *hunhanī lōg*, *lōganī*, *lōgānī kahā gāl rahal hā*, where did those people (the elder brothers, uncles) go? (2) *u*, *haū*, *unhan*, *unhanī*, *hunhan*, *hunhanī lōg*, *lōganī*, *lōgānī kahā gāl rahalī hā*, where did those (elder women) go? (3) *unhankā*, *unhanikā*, *hunhankā*, *hunhanikā*, *kahā gāl rahalē hā sa, sā, sanī*, where did those (children, servants, etc.) go? (4) *unhankā* *unhanikā*, *hunhankā*, *hunhanikā kahā gāl rahalī hā sa, sā, sanī*, where did those (younger sisters, daughters, maid-servants, etc.) go? (5) *uhā sabh*, *sabhan*, *sabhanikā kahā gāl rahalī hā*, where did those (respected sirs or ladies) go?

Obl. sg. examples: (1) *unhūkā*, *hunhūkā sē kām nā calī*, that (friend, brother, uncle, wife) cannot work. (2) *ō*, *oh*, *hō sē kām nā calī*, that (male or female servant or mother) cannot work. (3) *uhā sē kām nā calī*, that (respected sir or lady) cannot work.

Obl. pl. examples: (1) *ō*, *oh*, *ho*, *unhan*, *unhanī*, *hunhan*, *hunhanī lōg*, *lōganī*, *lōganī sē kām nā calī*, those people (friends, brothers, elder women) cannot work. (2) *unhan*, *unhanī*, *hunhan*, *hunhanī se kām nā calī*, those (younger sisters, daughters or male and female servants) cannot work. (3) *uhā sabh*, *sabhan*, *sabhanī sē kām nā calī*, those (respected sirs or ladies) cannot work.

§444. The typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below:—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>ū</i> , <i>haū</i>	<i>ū</i> , <i>haū</i> , <i>onhan</i> , <i>honhan</i> , <i>lōg</i> , <i>lōgan</i>
Obl. <i>ō</i> , <i>hō</i>	Same as above
Gen. Adj. Dir. <i>ōkar</i> , <i>hōkar</i> , <i>onkar</i> , <i>honkar</i>	
Gen. Adj. Obl. <i>okārē</i> , <i>hokārē</i>	

§445.

Western Bhojpuri

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>ū, haū</i>	<i>ū, haū, unāhan, onāhan, onhan, honāhan, honhan, sab</i>
Obl. <i>ō, hō</i>	Same as above
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>ōkar, hōkar</i>
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>okārē, hokārē</i>

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>ū, haū</i>	<i>ū, haū, unāhan, unhan, hunāhan, hunhan sab</i>
Obl. <i>ō, hō, un, unh</i>	Same as above
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>ōkar, hōkar</i>
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>okārē, hokārē</i>

§446.

Nagpurī or Sadānī

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>ū, ūhē</i>	<i>ū-man</i>
Obl. <i>ū</i>	Same as above
Genitive Adj. <i>u-kar</i>	<i>ukar-man</i>

Origin :

§447. The Old Bhoj. forms for the Remote or Far Demonstrative appear to be the following :—

Sg.	Pl.
Nom. <i>ō, ū</i>	....
Gen. <i>oha, uha</i>	<i>unhana, ohana</i>
(+kara)	(+kara)

The Remote Demonstrative goes parallel to Proximate Demonstrative. The base is *o-* (modified to *u-*) and this appears to be from the OIA demonstrative pronoun *ava-* which is rather restricted in OIA, being found in a solitary instance in Vedic, and this *ava* in Iranian is the source of the New Persian 'o' and 'ū' = he, that (ODBL, §572). Examples of 'o' and 'ū' are found in western Ap. and in Ap. as used in the east :

Hēmacandra (Verse 45, under Ap.): *jai pucchaḥu ghara vaḍḍāi, iō vaḍḍā ghara ōi*, if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are those, Verse 97, *ō gōrī-muḥa-nijjiaū baddalē lukku miānku*, that moon, more beautiful than even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud. Vidyāpati: 'Kirtti-latā'—*ō Paramēśara-Hara-sira sōhai*, that adorns the crest of the supreme deity Hara.

From **avasya* of OIA (or from **amuyya*), = **essa* of MIA, we may have *oha* of early Bhojpuri and also *uha*. So OIA **avepām* = MIA *avēpām*, **onām* gave **ona*, *ohana*, *uhana* in Old Bhoj. and on this basis, with prothetic *h-* and with strengthening *-i* we have the various New Bhojpuri forms, including the honorific singular.

The origin of *haū* seems to be **uhahu* < **uhahi* on the model of *ihahi*. The derivation of *unhi* may also be on the basis of < **auṇa* < **amūṇam* < **amūnām* + *hi* from the instrumental plural *-hi* of MIA while

hunhī = **h+unhī**, 'h' here being the prothetic only. In '**uhā-kā**', '**uhā**', there, could also be explained as a pronominal adverb like **ihā**, here, of '**ihā-kā**'. It can be compared to Sanskrit *tatrabhavaṁ* like *atrabhavaṁ* of **ihā-kā**.

The direct plural **unhan** and **unhanī** are double genitives in origin and these are = **unh+an** and **unh+ani** respectively. Similarly **unhankā** and **unhanikā** are triple genitives in origin and these are = **unh+an+kā** and **unh+ani+kā** respectively. The forms **hunhankā** and **hunhanikā** are also triple genitives (**h+unh+an+kā** and **h+unh+ani+kā**) with a prothetic 'h'.

hō is simply a metathesis of **oh**. The honorific oblique form **uhā**, there, has already been explained. In forms **unhukā** and **hunhukā** (**unh+u+kā**, **h+unh+u+kā**), the second 'u' has come from 'i' by the influence of preceding 'u'—a kind of vowel harmony induced by 'u', 'u' being the vowel of remoteness in this connection. The oblique genitival forms **okārā**, **hokārā**, **unhukārā** and **hunhukārā** are but the strong forms of **ōkar**, **hōkar**, **unhukar** and **hunhukar**.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

§448. The following are the forms of the Relative Pronoun (meaning 'who', 'that', 'which', 'as') in the standard Bhojpuri:—

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. jē , jawan , jaun , jinhī or sabh	jē , jawan , jaun , jinhī , jinhan , jinhani lōg
Obl. jē , jawānā , jaunā , jeh , jinhī	All the above forms and jēh lōg or sabh
Gen. Adj. Dir. jēkar , jehākar , jinhīkar	
Gen. Adj. Obl. jekārā , jehākārā , jinhīkārā	

§449. Typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below:—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. jē , jawan	jē , jawan , lōg
Obl. je , jawānē	jē , jawānē , lōg
Gen. Adj. Dir. jēkar	
Gen. Adj. Obl. jēkarē	kar

§450. *Western Bhojpuri*

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. jē , jawan	je , jawan , lōg
Obl. jē , jawānē	Same as above
Gen. Adj. Dir. jēkar , jawānē-ka or kar	
Gen. Adj. Obl. jekārē	kar , kai

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. jē, jawan	jē, jawan, lōg
Obl. jē, jawānē	Same as above
Gen. Adj. Dir. jēkar	
Gen. Adj. Obl. jēkarē	kar, kaī

§451. *Nagpurīā or Sadānī*

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. jē	jē-man
Obl. jē	Same as above
Gen. Adj. jē-kar	jekar-man

Origin :

§452. The following are the forms of Old Bhojpuri for the Relative Pronoun :—

Sg.	Pl.
Nom. je < <i>ya-kah</i>	jinha, jinhi
Inst. jeha for jāha	

The relative pronoun *jē* is found in Maithili, Magahi, Bengālī and Oṛiyā. The Assamese has *ji* (zi). The source of this *je* is OIA *ya-kah* and it has been derived as follows: *ya-kah* > Mg. Pk. *yake* > *jae* > *jai* > *je*. The Assamese *ji* (zi) has been, however, derived from OIA *yaḥ*.

The relative pronoun *je* is found in old Bengālī (caryā 7), e.g. *jē jē āilā tē tē gēlā*, those who came went away (ODBL, §580).

The old instrumental *jeha* (the modern Bhojpuri oblique form *jeh*) for *jāha* comes from OIA *yasya* with vowel 'e' from nominative *je*. This can be compared with the old Bengālī plural honorific form *jēhā*.

The origin of *jinha*, *jinhi* is *jānam* = *yēṣām* with influence of old instrumental plural *yebhiḥ* > *jehi* in the root vowel and also in affix.

The relative pronoun *jaun*, *jawan* agree with *kaun* and *kawan* in origin (for *kaun*, *kawan*, see, infra, §459 under Interrogative). They can be derived from *yaḥ + puṇah* in the following manner :—

yaḥ + puṇah > *ja-puṇa* > *jəuṇa* > *jəun* > *jawan*.

The direct genitives *jēkar*, *jēhā-kar* and *jinhi-kar* are = *je + kar*, *jēhā + kar* and *jinhi + kar* and the oblique forms *jēkarā*, *jēhākārā* and *jinhi-kārā* are corresponding strong forms.

THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUN

§453. The following are the forms of the Correlative Pronouns (meaning 'that', 'so') in the standard Bhojpuri :—

Sg.	Pl.
Dir. sē, tē, tawan,	sē, seh, tawan, taun, tinhi, tinhan, tinhanī
taun, tinhi	lōg or sabh
Obl. tē, tawānā,	All the above forms
taunā, teh, tini, tinhi	

Gen. Adj. Dir. **tēkar,**
tehākar, tinhīkar,
sēkar, sehākar
 Gen. Adj. Obl. **tēkarā,**
tehākarā, tinhīkarā,
sēkarā, sehākarā

§454. Typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below :—

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

Correlative :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	tē, tawan	tē, tawan, lōg
Obl.	tē tawānē	tē, tawānā, lōg
Gen. Adj. Dir.	tēkar	
Gen. Adj. Obl.	tēkarē	

§455. *Western Bhojpuri*

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	sē, tē, tawan	sē, tē, lōg
Obl.	tē, tawānē	Same as above
Gen. Adj. Dir.	tēkar	
Gen. Adj. Obl.	tēkarē	

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	sē, tē, tawan, taun	sē, tē, tawan, taun, lōg
Obl.	tē, tawānē	Same as above
Genitive Adj. Dir.	tēkar	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	tēkarē	

§456. *Nagpuriā or Sadāni*

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	sē	sē-man
Obl.	sē	Same as above
Genitive Adjective	sē-kar	sē-kar-man

Origin :

§457. The following are the forms of Old Bhojpuri for the Correlative Pronoun :—

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	sē, tē	tini, tinhi
Obl.	teh, tē	Same as above

The Correlative Pronoun *sē* is found in Maithili, Magahi, Bengali and Oriyā. The Assamese has *sei* pronounced (*xi*) or (*gi*). The source of *sē* appears to be OIA *sa-kaḥ* and it has been derived as follows:—

sa-kaḥ > Mg. Pk. **śake* > **śage* > *śae* > *śai* > *śe*. This *śe* has been replaced by *sē* in NIA speeches.

In modern Braj-bhākhā and Nepālī, the pronoun is *so*. It is also found in Old Kōśālī of 'Ukti-vyakti Prakāraṇam' of Damodara Pandita, p. 38, e.g.

*jō paraketham burua cintā, sō āpaṇukeham taiseth mā(mam)ta = yaḥ
parasya kṛte viruddham cintayati, sa ātmanaḥ kṛte tādṛśamēva man-
trayati.*

The source of *sō* is OIA *sō* (= *sā-u*) as suggested by Turner (see N.D., p. 622). This *so* also figures in Old and Middle Bengālī Vajṣṇava lyrics and is undoubtedly a western (Śauraseni) form. The form *sōi* which is prominent in Kōśālī of Tulasi Dās is an emphatic one and is = OIA *sa eva*.

The source of nom. sg. *tē* appears to be neut. *tat+kaḥ* and this on the model of *sa-kaḥ* became *tē* in modern Bhojpuri. Its other source can be Ap. **teḥā* (OIA *teḥām* > *tesam*, *tesā*, *teḥā*). In early Assamese we find the non-nasalized form *teho* with the nasalized *teḥō* which is the source of modern Assamese singular *teḥ* and in modern Nepālī we have *tyo*.

The nom. pl. *tē* is found in Old and Middle Bengālī, e.g.

*jē sacardāra tīsa bhānti,
tē ajarāmāra kimpī na honti.*

'Those (yōgis) who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless.' According to Dr. Chatterji, this *tē* may be a Sanskritism or it can be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental *tēhi*, *tēhi*.

The Bhojpuri dir. sg. correlative *tawan* and *taun* like relative *jawan* and *jaun* are = *tā+auṇ* and agrees with *kawan*, *kaun* (see §459 infra : under Interrogative).

The Obl. sg. *tawānā* and *taunā* are the strong forms of *tawān* and *taun*, while *teh-* (the parallel form of the relative pronoun is *jeh*) = *te+ha*. The forms *tinī*, *tinhi* (Beng. *tini*) can be derived from nom. *te+inst.* *tehi+gen.* *tāṇam* (MIA).

The dir. and obl. pl. *tinhan* and *tinhanī* are = *tin+gen.* pl. affix *-an* < *ānām*.

The direct genitives *tēkar*, *teḥkar*, *tinhiḥkar*, *sēkar*, *seḥkar* are = *tē+kar*, *teha+kar*, *tinhi+kar*, *sē+kar*, *seha+kar* and their corresponding oblique strong forms are *tēkarā*, *teḥkarā*, *tinhiḥkarā*, *sēkarā* and *seḥkarā*.

Note.—Besides *tawan* which is used in both genders, masculine and feminine, with different verbs, there is a form *tawani* which is used in direct feminine only. The corresponding feminine oblique singular form is *tawani* and the plural form is *tawānini*.

§458. Examples of Relative and Correlative :

Dir. sg. : (1) *jē*, *jawan*, *jaun jaisan karī*, *sē*, *tē*, *tawan*, *taun taisan pāi*, as one (male or female) will do, so one will get. (2) *jinhī jaisan kariḥē*, *tinhi taisan pāiḥē*, as one (a superior man or woman) will do, so one will get. (3) *jawani jaisan karī tawani taisan pāi*, as one (woman) will do, so she will get.

Dir. pl.: (1) *jē, jawan, jaun lōg* or *sabh āi, sē, tē tawan, taun lōg* or *sabh piṭāi*, those who will come will be beaten. (2) *jinhī, jinhan, jinhanī lōg* or *sabh aihē, tinhi, tinhan, tinhanī lōg* or *sabh piṭāihē*, those who will come will be beaten. (3) *jawanī aihē sa, sē or sanī*, *tawani piṭāihē sa, sē or sanī*, those (women) who will come will be beaten.

Obl. sg.: (1) *jē, jawānā, jaunā jēkarā kē bolāwā, sē, tē, tawānā, taunā, tēkarā kē khiāwā*, give him (equal or inferior, male or female) something to eat whom you invite. (2) *jeh, jinhi, jehākārā, jinhikārā kē bolāwā teh, tinhi, tehākārā, tinhikārā ke khiāwā*, give him (superior male or female) something to eat whom you invite. (3) *jawānī kē bolāwā tawānī ke khiāwā*, give her something to eat whom you invite.

Obl. pl.: (1) *jē, jawānā, jaunā lōg* or *sabh ke bolāwā, sē tē, tawānā taunā lōg* or *sabh ke khiāwā*, give them something to eat whom you invite. (2) *jeh, jinhan, jinhanī lōg* or *sabh ke bolāwā, seh, sē, tē, tinhan, tinhanī lōg* or *sabh ke khiāwā*, give them something to eat whom you invite. (3) *jawānini ke bolāwā, tawānini ke khiāwā*, give them (women) something to eat whom you invite.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

§459. There is a distinction between animate and inanimate forms (meaning 'who', 'which'?) in this pronoun. The following are the forms of animate in the standard Bhojpuri:—

Animate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kē, kewan, kaun, kawan</i>	<i>kē, kewan, kaun, kawan lōg, lōgan, lōganī</i>
Obl.	<i>kē, kēh, kinhi, kewānā, kaunā, kawānā</i>	The same as above and <i>kēh, kinhan, kinhanī lōg</i> or <i>lōganī</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>kēkar, kēhākar, kinhīkar</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>kēkarā, kēhākarā, kinhīkarā</i>	

Note.—The direct singular and plural *kewani* and *kawani* and genitive *kēkarī, kēhākarī* and *kinhīkarī* are sometimes used in feminine only.

Inanimate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kā</i>	....
Obl.	<i>kē, keh, kāhē, kēthī</i>	....
Gen.	<i>kāhē kē, kēthī ke</i>	....

Note.—In the instrumental *kēthiē* is used only in old songs.

Animate:

Dir. sg. examples: (1) *kē, kewan, kaun, kawan āwatā*, who (male) comes? (2) *kewani, kawani āwatā*, who (female) comes?

Dir. pl. examples: (1) *kē, kewan, kaun, lōg, lōgan* or *logani āwatā*, who (males) are coming? (2) *kewani* or *kawani āwatāri sa sē, sanī*, who (females) are coming?

Obl. sg. examples: (1) *tū kē, kēh, kinhi ke* or *kē maralā*, whom did you beat? (2) *tū kewānā, kaṇnā, kawānā ke* or *kē maralā*, whom (menial such as servants, etc.) did you beat?

Obl. pl. examples: (1) *tū kē, kewan, kaṇ, kawan, kēh, kinhan, kinhanī lōg, lōgan* or *logani ke maralā*, whom (men or people) did you beat? (2) *tū kinhan, kinhanī ke* or *kē maralā*, whom (menials such as servants, etc.) did you beat?

Note.—*kē, kewan, kaṇ, kawan* are used as adjectives also, e.g. *kē, kewan, kaṇ, kawan adimi*, who man?; *kē, kewan, kaṇ, kawan mehārārū*, who woman?; but sometimes *kewani, kaṇi, kawani mehārāru*, who woman?

Inanimate:

Dir. sg. examples: *I kā hawē*, what (thing) is this?

Obl. sg. examples: *kē, keh, kāhē, kēthī se marālē hā*, with what (thing) did he beat?

Typical forms in other dialects of Bhojpuri are given below:—

§460.

Northern Standard Bhojpuri

(Gorakhpur)

Animate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kē, kawan, kaṇ</i>	<i>kē, kawan lōg</i> or <i>lōgan</i>
Obl.	<i>kē, kawanē, kaṇē</i>	<i>kē, kaṇē, kawanē lōg</i> or <i>lōgan</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>kēkar</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>kēkarē</i>	<i>kar</i>

Inanimate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kā</i>	....
Obl.	<i>kē, keh, kēthī, kēthuā</i>	....

§461.

Western Bhojpuri

(i) (Banāras and Mirzāpur)

Animate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kē, kawan</i>	<i>kē, kawan lōg</i>
Obl.	<i>kē, kawanē</i>	<i>kawanan, kawan lōg</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>kēkar</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>kēkare</i>	

Inanimate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kā</i>	....
Obl.	<i>kē, kēthuā</i>	....

(ii) (Āzamgarh)

Animate:

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kē, kawan</i>	<i>kē, kawan lōg</i>
Obl.	<i>kē, kawanē</i>	<i>kawanan, kawanē lōg</i>
Genitive Adj. Dir.	<i>kēkar</i>	
Genitive Adj. Obl.	<i>kēkarē</i>	

Inanimate :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>kā</i>	
Obl. <i>kē, kēthuā, kathuā, kethuā</i>	

§462.

Nagpurīā or Sadānī

Animate :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>kē</i>		<i>kē-man</i>
Obl. <i>kē</i>		The same as above
Genitive Adj.		<i>kēkar</i>

Inanimate :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir. <i>kā</i>		<i>kā-man</i>
Obl. <i>kā</i>		The same as above
Genitive <i>kā-kar</i>		<i>kākar-man</i>

Origin :

§463. The nominative *kē* is also found in Magahi and Maithili. It is intact in Bengālī, Assamese and Oṛiyā. Its source is **kakaḥ* and it has developed as in the following manner :—

**kakaḥ* > *kake* > *kage* > *kae* > *kai* > *kē*

Bhojpuri *kewan*, *kaun* (Magahi, *kəun*) and *kawan* were originally indefinite and in their emphatic forms *kewanō*, *kaunō* and *kawanō*, the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as *kaun*, *kōn*, *kəun*, *kōn* in most NIA and has its parallel in the other bases like *jaun*, *taun*. It occurs in the western Apabhraṃśa as *kavanu*, *kavana*. Dr. Chatterji and others derive—*vaṇa*, **-vuṇa*, = *un* forms from the OIA indeclinable *punaḥ* as follows :

(i) *kaḥ-punaḥ* > **kapuṇa* > *kavuṇa*, > *kaṇuṇa*, *kavaṇa*. The Bhojpuri forms *kaun* and *kawan* are derived from *kaṇuṇa* and *kavaṇa*. (ii) *kaḥ-punḥ* > **ke-puṇe* > **kepuṇa* > *kevuṇa* and the Bhojpuri *kewan* is derived from this *ke-vuṇa*.

The oblique Bhojpuri forms *kewānā*, *kaunā* and *kawānā* are = *kewan*+*ā*, *kaunā* and *kawan*+*ā* respectively. The origin of oblique form *kinhi* is *kēṣām* : *kāṇam*. This *kāṇam* became *kaṇa* but being influenced by Pāli *kissa* < OIA *kasya* and *kiṃ*, it was changed to *kiṇa* and finally to *kin* in Bhojpuri. By adding the instrumental suffix *ha*, *hi* to the base *kin*, the forms *kinh* and *kinhi* were obtained (cf. in this connection the honorific interrogative Bengālī form *kinī*). The plural oblique forms *kinhan* and *kinhanī* are formed on the analogy of *haman* and *hamanī*. The oblique Bhojpuri *kēh* is derived from OIA *kasya* in the following way :—

OIA *kasya* > *kassa* > *kāha* but this 'ā' of *kāha* became 'e' on account of the influence of 'e' in *kē* and thus the Bhojpuri form *kēh* was formed.

The inanimate Bhojpuri nominative form *kā* is the contraction of *kāh* and oblique *kāhē* has developed from *kāhahi* (*kāha*+*(h)l* of locative). The oblique form *kēthī* = *kēth*+*i*. The origin of *keth* is MIA *kuttha*, *kuttha* < OIA *kutra*. The 'o' or 'u' of *kutth*, *kuttha* becomes 'e' possibly due to the influence of nominative *kē*.

The direct genitive forms *kēkar*, *kehākar*, *kinhīkar* are = *ke+kar*, *kinhī+kar* and *kehā+kar* and their corresponding oblique forms *kēkarā*, *kēhākarā*, *kinhīkarā* are the strong forms.

The oblique forms *kawanā* instead of *kawanā* is found in northern and western Bhojpuri. This 'ā' of *kawanā* is possibly due to 'ē' of 'kē' which is both oblique and nominative. The inanimate oblique forms *kēthuā*, *kathuā* and *kithuā* found in northern and western Bhojpuri are simply dialectical variations.

INDEFINITE PRONOUN

§464. The following are the forms of the 'Indefinite Pronoun' (meaning 'some' or 'any') in the standard Bhojpuri. The same forms are found in other dialects of Bhojpuri also.

Animate :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kēū</i> , <i>kēū</i> , <i>kēhu</i> , <i>kēhū</i> , <i>kaunō</i> , <i>kehu</i> , <i>kēhū</i> , <i>kaunō</i> , <i>kawanō lōg</i> <i>kawanō</i>	
Obl.	Same as direct	Same as direct

Besides the above forms, western Bhojpuri has one more form *keo* and Nagpuriā or Sadāni *koī* in the nominative. The plural of *koī* in Nagpuriā or Sadāni is *koīman*.

Inanimate :

	Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	<i>kichu</i> , <i>kuchu</i> , <i>kichuō</i> , <i>kuchuō</i>	....
Obl.	Same as above	....

Animate :

Dir. sg. examples : (1) *kēū*, *kēū*, *kēhu*, *kēhū* *ī bāt kahā*, some one told this. (2) *kaunō*, *kawanō* *ī bāt kahā* *asī*, some one (menial such as servant or woman, etc.) told this.

Dir. pl. examples : (1) *kēhu*, *kēhū*, *kaunō*, *kawanō lōg* *ī bāt kahā*, some people told this. (2) *kauno*, *kawanō* *ī bāt kahā* *sa*, *sā* or *sani*, some people (menials such as servants, etc.) told this.

Obl. sg. examples : (1) *kēū*, *kēū*, *kēhu*, *kēhū*, *sē mati kahā*, do not tell anybody. (2) *kaunō*, *kawanō* *sē mati kahā*, do not tell anybody (menial or woman).

Obl. pl. examples : *kēhu*, *kēhū*, *kaunō*, *kawanō lōg* *sē mati kahā*, do not tell any people (men, women, servants, etc.).

Inanimate :

Dir. sg. examples : *kichu*, *kuchu*, *kichuō*, *kuchuō* *dā*, give something.

Obl. sg. examples : *kichu*, *kuchu*, *kichuō*, *kuchuō* *sē kām nā* *call*, something will not do.

Note.—The indefinite pronoun (animate) *kaunō*, *kawanō* are also used as adjectives, e.g. *egō khēkhari kaunō*, *kawanō phulwārī mē* *gall*, a (certain) fox went to a garden.

Origin :

§465. The forms of direct and oblique singular (animate) indefinite pronoun in Bhojpuri are *kēū*, *kēū*, *kēhu*, *kēhū*, *kaunō*, *kawanō*. The

origin of *kāunō* and *kawanō* has already been explained. The source of other forms is OIA *kaḥ-āpi* and it has developed in the following way :—

OIA *kaḥ-āpi* > Māgadhi **kē'pi* > **kē'vi* > **kē'va* > **keva* > *kēō* *kēū*, *kēhū* (influenced by the emphatic particle *hu*). Maithili has *keo*; Magahi *kēū*; Bengālī *kēhō*, *kēha kēu*; Assamese *kēo*, *kēo*; Oriyā *kēi* (= **kēvi*); Awadhī *kōt*, *kāhu*, *kou*; western Hindi *kōt* (< *kō'vi*, *kō'pi*).

The neuter indefinite *kichu* is found also in other Māgadhan and non-Māgadhan dialects. Maithili has *kichū*, Bengālī *kichu*, Assamese *kichu*, Oriyā *kichi*, Awadhī *kichu*. It represents OIA *kim+cid*, appearing as *kimchi*, *kichi*; in the central and eastern inscriptions of Aśoka and *kimci* in the west. The aspiration has been explained as due to contamination with the masculine *kācid* > **kacchi* (ODBL, §589). The final 'u' in 'kichu' is simply a particle. The Oriyā *kichi* may represent the emphatic 'hi' (< **kiñchi* = *kiñci+hi*). In Bhojpuri form *kuchu*, the 'u' in 'ku' is perhaps due to the influence of the western Hindi form *kuch*. The forms *kichuo* and *kuchuo* are emphatic.

§466. *sab*, *sabh*. *sab*, all, is also used as an indefinite pronoun in the plural. It is usually written *sabh*. *sab* is found in Kōśālī (Awadhī) also. It means 'all', 'everyone', and has one constant form for both the genders and cases, e.g. *sab*, *sabh āil*, all came; *sab* or *sabh ke* or *kē bolāwā*, call everyone; *sab* or *sabh maradan se kahā*, tell all the men; *sab* or *sabh meharārun se kahā*, tell all the women.

Sometimes *sabhē* or *sabhan* is used in the oblique plural for the sake of emphasis. Thus *sab* or *sabh ke* means 'of all', 'taken as a whole', while *sabhē* or *sabhan ke* means 'of all' taken severally.

Origin:

§467. The pronoun *sab*, *sabh* goes back to OIA *sarvaḥ*; Pāli *sabbo*; Aśokan inscription *sarva-*, *savra-*, *sava-*; Prākṛit *savva-*. Bengālī has *sab*, Oriyā *sabu* and Hindi *sab*. The aspirated forms *sabh*, *sabhā* and *sabhu* are found in Bhojpuri, Lahndā and in Sindhi. The aspiration is due in all likelihood to the word *sabhā* which, as Dr. Chatterji has noted, was used side by side with *sarva* > *sabba* > *saba* as a plural-forming word (cf. 'yuvati *sabhā*' in the 'Gitagovinda', ODBL, §490).

THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

§468. *apānā*, *apānē*. This pronoun expresses a reflexive sense ('himself', 'myself', etc.) for emphasis and is used with all personal pronouns and with nouns without any change in form, e.g. *u apānā ke* or *kē burā bhalā kahalē*, he rebuked himself very much; *u apānē gallē*, he himself went away; *tu apānē kahalā*, you yourself said this.

apānā also expresses the combined sense of 'you and I' sometimes, e.g. *apānā se kā matalab*, what have we (you and I) to do?

apānā and *āpan* are also used as adjectives without distinction of gender. *āpan* is used in direct while *apānā* is the oblique form, e.g. dir.—*āpan laikā* or *āpan laikī* (your, his, my, etc., boy or girl); obl.—*apānā laikā* or *laikī se* (from my, your, his, etc., boy or girl).

Origin :

§469. OIA *ātman*, self, gave two forms in MIA *atta-* and *appa-*; which are both preserved as noun substantives in Assamese *ātā*, father, grandfather; *āp*, a revered person. In Bhojpuri only *-p-* form is found. The forms *ap* (nominative), *apanē* (instrumental), *apanā* (genitive and accusative) are found in Caryās (ODBL, §591).

The Bhojpuri adjectival form *āpan*, Assamese *āpon*, one's own, is connected with MIA *appaṇaa-* < OIA *ātmānaka-*.

The reflexive *apānā*, *apānē*, early Middle Bengālī *āpānē*, *āpunī*, modern Bengālī *āpānī*, Assamese *āpunī*, are derived from *ātmanah* = *appaṇa-*. The final *-i* in Bengālī and Assamese instead of expected *-e* has been explained by Dr. Chatterji on account of the analogy of *tini*, *jini* (ODBL, §593).

§470. The ts. word *nija* in the instrumental form *nije* or *nijē* is also used reflexively in modern Bhojpuri and Assamese, e.g. *u nije* or *nijē gallē*, he himself went away.

HONORIFIC PRONOUNS

§471. *apānā*, *apānē* and *āp* are sometimes used as honorific pronouns in modern Bhojpuri, e.g. *ham apānā*, *apānē* or *āp se* or *sē kahālī*, I told your honour. This appears to be a western influence, for *āp* is very frequently employed as an honorific pronoun in the second person in W.H., e.g. (*āp*) *kō āsi bātē nahī karnī cāhiē*, (you, sir) should not utter such words (second person); *Vidyāsāgar is dēś kē ek ratna thē*. (*āp*) *kā janm ēk pratiṣṭhita baṅgālī brāhmaṇa pariwar mē huā thā*, Vidyāsāgar was a jewel of this country. (He) was born in a noble Bengālī Brāhmaṇa family (third person). The honorific sense of *āp* in the third person is, however, fast disappearing even in western Hindi.

āp is also used in old Hindi and in Braja-bhākhā (although in Braja-bhākhā the non-honorific *tava*, *tōrō*, *tum*, etc., are used very frequently where, in fact, honorific *āp* ought to have been employed, e.g. *tuma gōpāla mōṣō bahuta karī*, you Gōpāla did much for us ('Sūra pañcaratna', p. 23, pada 50)), as an honorific pronoun, e.g. *mādhava jū yaha mēri ika gāi*. *aba āju tē (āpa) āgē dāi lāj āiyē carāi* ('Sūra pañcaratna', p. 36, pada 78), O Mādhava, this is a cow belonging to me. Now, from today, I have put it before (you, sir). Kindly graze it.

The honorific *āp* is also used in western Bhojpuri and in modern Kośali (Awadhī) but it is absent in the Punjābī and in the modern Khaṛī-Bōlī dialects of Meerut and Bijnaur.

§472. The real honorific pronoun in Bhojpuri is *raurā*, *raurā* or *rauā* in direct and in oblique, and *rāur* in genitive. In Maithilī, however, *āhā*, *ahā*, *āis*, *ais* and *apāne* are employed as honorific pronouns and in the Rājasthānī dialects of 'Mewārī' and Mārwarī *rāwarō* meaning a 'husband' is an equivalent of OIA *ārya* or *āryaputra*. These are employed as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of 'your honour'.

The Bhojpuri honorific pronoun *rāur* is so important that it has been freely used by the poets of Brajbhākhā from Sur Dās (1483 to 1563 A.D.) to Bābū Jagannāth Dās Ratnākar (1866 to 1932 A.D.), e.g. *madhupa (rāwarī) pahicāna*, (your honour) black-bee, this is your nature (Ramcandra Śukla : 'Bhramara-Gita-Sāra', 2nd edition, p. 56, pada 145); *phaslaj bara-sānē meṅ na (rāwarī) kahānī yaha*, let this story (of your honour) be not spread in Barasānā (a place in Mathurā) (Ratnākar : 'Uddhava Śataka', p. 84).

§473. The origin of Bhojpuri *rāur* is MIA *lāula* occurring, e.g. in the 'Prabōdha-candrōdaya', the source is an OIA *rāja-kula* or *rāja-kūya*, royal (cf. Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar', §447); the western equivalent of this word is *rāwal*. The word *rauā* or *rauṡā* is only an extended form of *rāū* which is from *rāja*.

The source of dialectical Maithili forms *āis*, *ais* appears to be *ati-śa*, pre-eminent or *atīśa*, supreme lord, and of *ahā* *ahā-*, *ahai*, etc., OIA *āyasmān*, MIA *āyasmā* (as in Pāli) which would give in Apabhramśa **āmha*, **āmha*, *āhā*.

Examples in Bhojpuri :

Dir. :—*raurā*, *raurā*, *rauṡā* or *rauṡ kahā* gaṯ rahallī hā, where has your honour gone ?

Obl. :—*raurā*, *raurā*, *rauṡā* or *rauṡ sē* ham kahallī, I told your honour.

Genitive :—*rāur laikā* i kām kaṯlasi, your honour's son did this.

COMPOUND PRONOUNS

§474. The relative pronoun is combined with *kēhū* and *sabh* and *sabh* with *kēhū*, e.g. *sabh kēhū*, everyone; *jē kēhū*, whoever; *je sabh āil*, all who came; *sabh kēhū ke* or *kē bōlāwā*, call all men. *sabh* is also added to personal pronouns, e.g. *ham sabh*, we all; *raurā* or *rauṡ sabh*, you (respected) all; *ū sabh*, they all.

PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES, ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

(i) Pronominal Adjectives

§475. The demonstrative pronouns *I*, *ū*; relative *jē*, *jaun*, *jawan*; correlative *sē*, *tē*, *taun*, *tawan* and interrogative *kē* are used as adjectives also. The pronominal adjectives showing emphasis are formed by adding *hē*, *hō*, *hū* particles to above forms, e.g. *ihē*, *ihō*; *ūhē*, *ūhō*; *jēhē*, *jēhō*; *sēhē*, *sēhō*; *tēhē*, *tēhō*; *jaunē*, *jawanē*; *jaunō*, *jawanō*; *taunē*, *tawanē*; *taunō*, *tawanō*.

(ii) Pronominal Adjectives of Manner or Quality

§476. *aīsan*, *ēīsan*, this-like; *oīsan*, that-like; *jaīsan*, what-like; *taīsan*, that-like; *kaīsan*, what-like, are the adjectives of manner or quality.

Origin :

§477. The *-s-* forms occur in Magahi, E. Hindi, W. Hindi and in most forms of NIA besides. Early Oriyā shows forms like *jē-sānā* and old Bengālī like *aīsan*. Dr. Chatterji derives these *-s-* forms from OIA pronominal adjectives in *-dṛśa-*. This *-dṛśa* affix became *-dīsa-*, *-dīśa-* and then *-īsa-*, *-īśa-* through loss of interior *-d-* in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix *-na-*, this affix was extended, either in dialectical OIA or in MIA to give the forms *aiśaṇa*, *yaiśaṇa* (*jaīśaṇa*), etc. (ODBL, §600).

The Bhojpuri *aīsan*, *ēīsan*, etc., have been derived as follows :

aīsan, *ēīsan* : *etādṛśa* > **etādṛśana* > **eaiśaṇa* > *ēīsan*, *aīsan* ;
oīsan : *o-tādṛśa* > **otādṛśana* > **oaiśaṇa* > *oīsan* ;
jaīsan : *yādṛśa* > **yādṛśana* > **yaiśaṇa* (*jaīśaṇa*) *jaīsan* ;
taīsan : *tādṛśa* > **tādṛśana* > **taiśaṇa* > *taīsan* ;
kaīsan : *ki-dṛśa* > **ki-dṛśana* > **kaiśaṇa* > *kaīsan*.

§478. The above adjectival forms have also strong oblique forms in *ā*, e.g. *aisānā*, *eisānā*, *oisānā*, *jaisānā*, *taisānā*, *kaisānā*.

Dir. examples: *aisan*, *eisan adimi*, man of this sort; *oisan adimi*, man of that sort; *jaisan adimi*, man of what sort; *taisān adimi*, man of that sort.

Obl. examples: *aisānā*, *eisānā din*, *mē* or *mē*, on such a day or on day of this sort; *oisānā din mē* or *mē*, on day of that sort.

§479. Sometimes, the above adjectives change for gender also, e.g. *aisan* or *eisan meharārū* but also *aisani* or *eisani meharārū*, such a woman. Similarly *oisāni*, *jaisani*, *taisani*, *kaisani*, etc.

(iii) Pronominal Adjectives of Quantity and Number

§480. These can be divided into the following groups :

- (a) *atēk*, *ētek*, *hatēk*, *hētēk*, so much ; *otēk*, *hotēk*, that much ; *jatek*, *jētēk*, as much ; *tatēk*, *tētēk*, that much ; *katek*, *kētēk*, how much.
- (b) *atāhat*, *ētāhat*, *hatāhat*, *hētāhat*, so much ; *otāhat*, *hōtahat*, that much ; *jatāhat*, *jētāhat*, that much ; *tatāhat*, *tētāhat*, as much ; *katāhat*, *kētāhat*, how much.
- (c) *atānā*, *ētānā*, *hatānā*, *hētānā*, so much, so many ; *ōtānā*, *hōtānā*, *jātānā*, *jētānā*, as much, as many ; *tatānā*, *tētānā*, that much, that many ; *katānā*, *kētānā*, how much, how many ; that much, that many.

§481. The corresponding forms in Maithili are *atēk*, *ōtēk*, *katek*, *jatek* and *tatēk*. In Assamese these are *etek*, *ketek*, *jetek* and *tetek*, in Bengali *ete*, *kete*, *jete*, *ete* and *sete* and in Oriyā *ētē*, *kētē*, *jētē*, *tētē* and *sētē*.

Origin :

§482. The forms *atēk*, *ētek*, *otēk*, *jatek*, *jētēk*, *tatēk*, *tētēk*, *katek*, *kētēk* are = *at+ēkṣ*, *tat+ēkṣ*, *ot+ēkṣ*, *jat+ēkṣ*, *jēt+ēkṣ*, *tat+ēkṣ*, *tēt+ēkṣ*, *kat+ēkṣ*, *kēt+ēkṣ*. The affix *-ēkṣ* in Bhojpuri, Maithili and Assamese is simply a pleonastic one. The 'h' in the forms *hatēk* (*h+at+ēkṣ*), *hētēk* (*h+ēt+ēkṣ*) and in *hotēk* (*h+ot+ēkṣ*) is simply prothetic.

§483. The sources of form-groups *at-*, *et-*, *tat-*, *tet-*, etc. have been fully discussed by Dr. Chatterji (ODBL, §601). These form-groups are related to early MIA (Pāli) *etta-ka*, *kittaka*; Second MIA *ettia*, *kettia*, *tettia*, etc. and are traceable to OIA (Vedic) **ayattiya* > **ayattiya*; **kayattiya* > **kayattiya*, etc. (Pischel, §153) made up of the pronominal base the affix *-vant* (*-yat*)+adjectival *-iya* > *-iya*. Thus the form **attaka* > **attaa* > **atta* > **atṣ*; *ettika* > **ettaa* > **etta* > *etṣ*. Similarly the forms *otēk*, *jatek*, *jētēk*, *tatēk*, *tētēk*, *katek* and *kētēk* can be derived.

§484. The source of form-groups *-hat* (*atāhat*, *ētāhat*, *otāhat*, etc.) seems to be the pronominal base +an euphonic *-h-*+the affix *-vant* (**-watta*, **-atta*, *-at*). Thus *atāhat* = *atṣ+(-h-)+vant* > *atṣ*. Similarly *etāhat* = *etṣ+h+vant*, *otāhat* = *otṣ+h+vant*, *jatāhat* = *jatṣ+h+vant* and so on. In the case of the forms with initial *-h* (*hatāhat*, *hētāhat*, *hōtahat*, etc.), the *-h* is simply a prothetic one.

§485. The source of form-groups -nā (*atānā, ētānā, ōtānā, jātānā, jetānā*, etc.) seems to be the pronominal base *atā, etā, ōtā, jātā, jētā* + *nā* from *aisānā, eīsānā, kaisānā*, etc.

§486. Besides the above adjectives, Bhojpuri has also a form *matan*, *matin*, like, similar to, which, according to Dr. Chatterji, is a blend of *mata*- and *mana*- (OJBL, §599). This affix is found in early Bengālī and Assamese. In Bhojpuri—like modern Bengālī—it is regarded as a separate word. As in Bengālī we have *āmārā mata(nā)*, like me; *tōmārā mala(nā)*, so we have also in Bhojpuri *hamārā mata(n)*, *matī(n)*, like me, *tōhārā mata(n)*, *matī(n)*, like you.

(iv) *Pronominal Adverbs of Manner*

§487. The following are the 'Pronominal Adverbs of Manner' in Bhojpuri:

aīsē, eīsē, thus; *oīsē*, that way; *jaīsē, jeīsē*, how; *taīsē, teīsē*, so; *kaisē, keīsē*, how.

§488. The derivation of all the above forms seems to be the pronominal base *aīs, eīs, oīs, jaīs, jeīs, taīs, teīs, kais, keīs* + locative *hī*.

(v) *Pronominal Adverbs of Time*

§489. The following are the 'Pronominal Adverbs of Time' in Bhojpuri:

ēh-bērā, hē-bērā, ēh-jun, hē-jun, now; *ōh-bērā, hēbērā, ōh-jun, hō-jun*, then; *jēh-bērā, jēh-jun*, when; *tēh-bērā, tēh-jun*, then; *kēh-bērā, kēh-jun*, when.

§490. The origin of the word *bērā* is OIA *velā*- while 'jun' meaning 'time or period' in Bhojpuri can be compared with Nepālī 'jun' meaning 'moon' < OIA *gyōtsnā*, Pāli *junhā*, Pk. *jonhā*.

(vi) *Pronominal Adverb of Place*

§491. These can be divided into the following groups:

- (a) *ihāwā, hihāwā*, here; *ūhāwā, hūhāwā*, there; *jāhāwā*, where; *tāhāwā*, there; *kāhāwā*, where.
- (b) *ihā, hihā*, here; *ūhā, hūhā*, there; *jāhā*, where; *tāhā*, there; *kāhā*, where.
- (c) *ēhijā* or *jā*, here; *ōhijā* or *jā*, *ōijā* or *jā*, *hōhijā* or *jā*, *hōijā* or *jā*, there; *jēhijā* or *jā*, *jēijā* or *jā*, where; *tēhijā* or *jā*, *teijā* or *jā*, there; *kēhi-jā* or *jā*, *kēijā* or *jā*, where.
- (d) *eṭhan, eṭhēn, eṭhin, ṭhē*, here; *oṭhan, oṭhēn, oṭhin, oṭhē*, there; *jēṭhan, jēṭhēn, jēṭhin, jēṭhē*, where; *teṭhan, teṭhēn, teṭhin, teṭhē*, there; *keṭhan, keṭhēn, keṭhin, keṭhē*, where.

Note.—The forms of last group (d) are used in the northern Bhojpuri of Gorakhpur and in the western Bhojpuri of Banāras, Mirzāpur, Ghāzipur and Azamgarh. The forms of the other groups are used in the standard Bhojpuri.

Origin:

§492. The forms *ihāwā*, *hihāwā*, *ūhāwā*, *hūhāwā*, *jāhāwā*, *tāhāwā* and *kāhāwā* are = *iha + wā*, *h + iha + wā*, *ūha + wā*, *h + ūha + wā*, *jāha + wā*, *tāha + wā*, *kaha + wā*.

The source of *-wā* seems to be adjectival affix *-ma* in strong form used adverbially. Is there an influence of Hindi forms *jyaū*, *tyaū*; *jyō*, *tyō*, *jyū*, *tyū* derived from western Apabhramśa *jemva*, *temva* = *jēma*, *tēma*? The forms *jima*, *tima* are found in Caryās and *jimi*, *timi* in eastern Hindi.

§493. The forms *ihā*, *hihā*, *ūhā*, *hūhā*, *jāhā*, *tāhā*, *kāhā* seem to be the contracted forms of *ihāwā*, *hihāwā*, *ūhāwā*, *hūhāwā*, *jāhāwā*, *tāhāwā* and *kāhāwā* respectively.

§494. The source of *jā* or *jā* in *ēhi jā*, *jā*; *ōhi jā*, *jā*; *ōijā*, *jā* is possibly the Persian word '*jā*', meaning 'a place'.

§495. The origin of *-ṭhan*, *-ṭhēn*, *-ṭhin* and *-ṭhē-* forms (*eṭhan*, *eṭhen*, *eṭhin*, *eṭhē*, etc.) is possibly the pronominal base $\sqrt{sthā}$ + the locative affix *hi* or *ahī*. These forms can be compared with the dialectical Bengālī forms *sēṭhi*, *ēṭhi*, *jēṭhi* and with *-ṭhi-* forms in Oriyā.

(vii) *Pronominal Adverbs of Direction*

§496. These can be divided into the following groups:

- (a) *ēnē*, *hēnē*, *hither*; *onē*, *honē*, *thither*; *jēnē*, *whither*; *tenē*, *thither*; *kenē*, *whither*.
- (b) *ehar*, *hither*; *ohar*, *hohar*, *thither*; *jēhar*, *whither*; *tehar*, *thither*; *kehar*, *whither*.

§497. The forms *enē*, *hēnē*, *onē*, *honē*, etc., Oriyā, *ene*, *tene*, etc., are locative forms of certain contracted pronominal adjectives and would appear to be ultimately from *ēhan*, *jehan*, *tehan*, etc. The corresponding forms in Oriyā show 'ṇ' which indicates that their source is a single 'n' in MIA.

§498. The *har*-forms—*ehar*, *ohar*, *hohar*, *jēhar*, *tehar*, *kehar*—can be compared with Bengālī *ē-dhārē*, *ō-dhāre*, Maithili, *em-har*, *jem-har*, etc., and Hindi *i-dhar*, *u-dhar*, etc. The source of Bhojpuri and Maithili *-har* is *-dhar* while those of Bengālī forms is *dhārā*, *-dhārē*, meaning 'side, edge, bank, limit, line'.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB

(A) BHOJPURI VERB ROOTS

§499. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians arranged OIA verb roots became levelled down to one in Apabhramśa. Original thematic affixes were either dropped or incorporated with the root in MIA. The elaborate system of tenses and moods underwent the greatest simplification possible. The aorist and the perfect systems were lost altogether.

The sources of NIA roots have been very ably investigated by Drs. Chatterji, Grierson and others in their standard works, and there remains hardly anything new to be added to the conclusions arrived at. Following is the scheme of classification drawn up by Dr. Chatterji for the grouping of NIA roots, and the principal Bhojpuri verbs can be arranged under the same heads.

The roots may be broadly classified into two groups : (i) primary roots, (ii) secondary roots. They again fall into the following sub-heads :—

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|----|---|
| (i) Primary roots | { | 1. | Primary roots inherited from OIA (tbh.)
(a) simple roots, (b) prefixed roots |
| | | 2. | Primary roots from Causative in OIA |
| | | 3. | Primary roots re-introduced from Sanskrit (ts. and sts.) |
| | | 4. | Primary roots of doubtful origin (Dēśī) |
-
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|----|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|---|
| (ii) Secondary roots | { | 1. | Causatives in -ā- | | | | |
| | | 2. | Denominatives | { | (a) Native (tbh.) | { | (i) Early (inherited) |
| | | | | | | | (ii) Coined—made up in Mid. and New Bhoj. |
| | | | | { | (b) Tatsama | | |
| | | | | | (c) Foreign | | |
| | | 3. | Compounded and suffixed (tbh.) | | | | |
| | | 4. | Onomatopoeic | | | | |
| | | 5. | Doubtful | | | | |

(i) Primary Roots

§500. The following is a list of some of the common primary roots. They include some roots illustrating the incorporation of OIA class signs.

kas (*kṛṣ*), to tighten; **kar** (*kṛ*), to do; **kāṛh** (MIA *kaḍḍha-*), to take out, to snatch away; **kān** (*kṛand*), to weep; **kāp** (*kamp-*), to tremble; **kāṭ** (*kṛt*), to cut; **kūṭ** (MIA *kuffa-*), to pound; **kūḍ** (*kūrd*), to jump; **kah** (*kathay-*) (really a denominative in OIA < *kathā*), to say; **khan** (*khan-*), to dig; **khā** (*khād-*), to eat; **gan** (*gaṇ-*), to count; **gāj** (*garj*), to be happy

< to roar (with pride and pleasure); gal (*gal-*), to melt; gāth (*granth-*), to put on; gūj (*guñj-*), to murmur; ghaṭ (*ghaṭ-*), to happen; ghās (*ghṛṣ-*), to rub; ghaṭ (MIA *ghaṭ-*), to lessen; cu (*cyav-*), to trickle; cun (*ci, cinoti*), carḥ (< *caḥa MIA *caḥai*? Hc. 4—206), to ascend; car (*car*), to graze; cal (*cal*), to go; cikh (cf. B. cākh, to taste < *cakṣa*), to taste; cum (*cumb*), to kiss; cuk (MIA *cukkai*; Hc. 4—177), to slip; chār (MIA *chādḍai*; Hc. 4—91), to leave; chū (*chuwai = sprś*), to touch; chēd (sts. *chid*: *chidra* > *chenda* > *chēd*, *chid*), to pierce; jān (*jñā-*), to know, retains the 'n'-infix; jap (*jalp*), to count the bids; jāg (*jāgr*), to wake, (cf. O.B. *jāgai*, Caryā 2—3); jīt (based on a past participle *jittā* < $\sqrt{jī}$), to conquer; jia (*jiv*), to live; jōt < (based on pp. *yukta-*), to harness, to yoke; jhāṭ (Late MIA *jhaṇṭai* = 'bhramati': Hc. 4—161), to move the head for attack; jhar (*kṣar*?), to drip; tuṭ (*truṭ*), to break; ṭar (*ṭal*, a late root, rare in Sk., cf. Kh. B. *ṭal* and Beng. *ṭal*), to swerve; ṭāk (*ṭaṅk-*), to stitch; tān (*tan-*, to stretch), to draw, probably a borrowing from Bengālī; ṭhag (*sthag*, according to Hoernle), to cheat; dūb (MIA **buḍḍa* > **ḍubba* > *dūb* by metathesis), to sink; dās (MIA *ḍasai*: Hc. 1—218; OIA *damś-*), to bite, to sting; ḍar (MIA *ḍarai*: Hc. 4—198), to fear; ḍhāk (MIA *ḍhakkai*: Hc. 4—21; Dr. Chatterji connects it with *sthag* though he regards it as doubtful), to cover; ḍhūṛh (MIA *ḍhunḍhai*), to search; ḍhuk (MIA *ḍhu-kkai*), to enter; tāk (*tarkayati*, probably a denominative root), to see; tej (*tyaj-*), to leave; thak (possibly connected with *sthag*, cf. *sthagita*, meaning 'postponed'), to be tired; thambh (*stambh*), to stop; dēkh (MIA *dekkhai*), to see; de (MIA *dei*, OIA *dā*), to give; dhar (*dhr*), to hold; dhār (*dhāray*), to owe (cf. Beng. *dhār*); dhas (*dhvams*), to sink, to fall down; nāc (MIA *naccai*), to dance; nahā (*snā* > *nhā* > *nahā*, as in *nahāpita*), to bathe; pi (*pibati* < *pā*), to drink; puch (MIA *puchai*, OIA *prcchati*); parḥ (*paṭh*), to read; pāk (MIA *pakka*), to ripen; piṭ (MIA *piṭṭai*), to beat; phāṭ (*sphāṭ-*), to split; phuṭ (*sphuṭ*: Kṛṣṇācārya, 'Dōhā kōṣa', verse 13, '*phuṭṭai*'), to break; phūl (MIA *phullai*: Hc. 4—387), to blossom; bāṭ (*vanṭ-*), to distribute; bānh (*bandh*), to bind; bōl (MIA *bollai*: Hc. 4—2), to talk; baṛh (MIA *vaḍḍhai*, OIA *vardhayati*), to grow; bujh (MIA *bujjhai*, OIA *budh-*: OIA -*ya*-theme is retained), to know; bō (*vap-*), to sow; bhaj (*bhaj*), to worship; bhar (*bhr*), to fill; bhāw (*bhāv*), to like; bhūl (MIA *bhullai*: Hc. 4—177), to forget; bhāj (*bhañj*), to fold; māj (MIA *majjai*: Hc. 4—101; OIA *mṛj*), to clean; mākḥ (*mraḥṣ*), to smear, to anoint, probably a borrowing from Bengālī, MIA *makkhai*: Hc. 4—191; mal (*mard*), to rub; mil (*mil*), to unite, to get; rākḥ (MIA *rakkhai*, OIA *rakṣ*), to keep; rac (*rac*), to make, to shape; row (*rud*), to weep; rus (MIA *rusai*: Hc. 4—236), to be angry; lē (MIA *lei*: Hc. 4—238), to take; luṭ (Pk. *luṭṭai*, cf. Sk. *luṇṭ-*), to loot; sun (*śru—śṛṇoti, suṇai*), to listen; sujh (*śudh*, retains the -*y*-theme), to be suggested; sah (*sahai*), to endure, to suffer; sījḥ (MIA *sijjhai*, OIA \sqrt{sidh} , -*y*-theme retained), to be boiled; haṭ (based on a past p. form *bhraṣṭa* > *bhaṭṭa* > *haṭṭa* > *haṭ*), to be driven back; hār (*hār-*), to be defeated.

§501. The examples of prefixed roots are :

awāṭ (*ā-vṛt*), to stir, to boil; ācaw (*ā-cam-*), to wash hands and mouth after eating; ubah (*ud-vah-*), to flow; upaj (*ut-padyate*), to grow, to produce; ujaṛ (*ut-jval-*), to be deserted; sts. upās (*up-vās*), to fast; ukhār (*ut-khāt-*), to pull out; ug (*ud-gam*), to rise; utar (*ava-ṭ-*), to descend; ubar (*ud-vṛt*), to remain over and above; ucar (*ut-car-*), to go, to fly; ucār (*ut-cār-*), to recite, to pronounce; nikas (*niṣ-kās*), to come out; nirekh (*nir-īkṣ*), to observe closely; newāṭ (*ni-manṭr-*), to invite; nihār (*ni-bhāl*, MIA '*nihālei*'), to see; niwār (*ni-vṛ*), to protect; nibāh (*ni-bah* < *vah*), to carry

on, to pass on; *pañh* (MIA *pañhai*, based on a past participle base, OIA < *pra-viñ-*), to enter; *pañs* (*pra-viñ-*), to enter; *pōch* (*pra-uñch-*), to wipe; *pasar* (*pra-s-*), to spread; *pahir* (*pari-dhā-*), to put on; *paros* (*pari-ved-*), to serve; *partej* (*pari-tyaj-*), to forsake; *parikh* (*pari-ikṣ-*), to examine; *pakhār* (*pra-kṣāl-*), to wash the feet; *pāw* (*pra-āp-*), to get; *bañh* (*upa-viñ-*), to sit; *bañs* (*upa-viñ-*), to sit; *bēc* (*vi-kṛ-*; MIA *beccai*), to sell; *bhij* (*abhi-uñj-*), to get wet; *samhar* (*sam-bhāl-*), to support; *saup* (*sam-arp-*), to give; etc.

§502. The primary roots have all come to Bhojpuri through MIA and hence we find a great deal of phonetic modifications in these roots. The ten classes of the Sanskrit verbs became levelled down to one in Apabhramśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA, being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some cases, however, a theme could not be dropped and this passed on as an inheritance to NIA. Bhojpuri has also preserved a few of them, e.g.

(1) -*ya*- theme, e.g.

sījh (*sidh-ya-ti*), to be cooked; *nāc* (*naccai*, *nrtya-ti*), to dance; *jūjh* (*yudh-ya-ti*), to fight; *bujh* (*budh-ya-ti*), to understand; *samujh* (*sam-budh-ya-ti*), to understand; *ṭūt* (*truṭ-ya-ti*), to be broken; *bajh* (*badh-ya-te*), to be tied.

(2) -*nō*- theme, e.g.

cun (*ci-nō-ti*), to choose, to select; *sun* (*śr-nō-ti*), to listen; *dhun* (*dhu-no-ti*), to card; etc.

(3) -*nā*- theme, e.g.

kin (*kri-nā-ti*), to purchase; *jān* (*jū-nā-ti*), to know.

(4) -*n*- infix: *runh* < *rundh*, *rudh*, to enclose; *banh* < *bandh*, *badh*, to tie.

(5) The -*cch*- theme (= Ie. **-ske/o-*), not recognized by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots *puch* (*prcchati*), ask; *pahñc* (* *pro-bhu-ske-ti* > * *prabhucchati* > * *pahuñcai*), to reach; *ach* (*acchati* < * *es-ske-ti*), to be; *ich* and *hich* (*icchati* or *h-icchati* < * *is-ske-ti*), to wish.

§503. Apart from phonetic modifications and decay and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in conjugation, there are certain other modifications through which MIA roots have passed. In MIA the bases of active roots are frequently derived not from the active forms in OIA but rather from the passive and in some cases apparently from the future, rather than from the present. Causative bases of OIA also supplied the simple root forms of MIA and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes, e.g. *tapyatē* > MIA *tappai*, is heated > heats oneself > *tāp*, to get hot; *sak*, to be able to do < MIA *sakkai*, to be able oneself < OIA *śakyate*, is able; *lag*, to attach < MIA *laggai*, to attach oneself < OIA *lagyate* is attached. Similarly *sic*, to drench; *nāp*, to measure; *rōp*, to sow; *thāp*, to establish, etc.

PRIMARY ROOTS OF CAUSATIVE ORIGIN

§504. Certain OIA causative roots have become primary roots in Bhojpuri. The old casual sense has been lost and they are ranked as

ordinary transitive verbs. New causative formations can be built up by adding causal affixes -ā or -āw, e.g. muâtā, he dies; mārātā, he kills (mārayati); new causative marāwatā or marawāwatā, he causes to kill. The old causative in mārātā has acquired a mere transitive force.

§505. The following are some of the examples of this class of verbs :

ughār (udghāyati), to uncover; ukhār (ut-khāyati), pull out; ucār (ut-cārayati), pronounce; cāl (cālayati), sift; chāw (chādayati), cover with thatch; chēw (*chēdayati), cut; jār (jvālayati), burn; jhār (*jhāyati), to clean; tār (tārayati), save; tāw (tāpayati), blow fire with a bellow; dhār (earlier: udhār < uddhārayati), owe; nahā (snāpayati), bathe; pāw (prāpayati), get; pasār (prasārayati), to extend, to spread; pur (pūrayati), fill; phār (sphāyati), to break; mār (mārayati), to kill, to beat; hār (hārayati), defeat; sts. sād̥h (sād̥hayati), accomplish.

§506. Bhojpuri has never been seriously cultivated for literature since it emerged as a distinct speech from Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. In the sixteenth century, when there was a great literary activity in northern India, the poets and writers from Bhojpuri area used Kōśalī and Braj-bhākhā or a mixture of both in literature and now the Kharī-Bōlī is being used at its place. The result of this is that we find only a few sts. roots in Bhojpuri. These are :

arap (arp-), to bestow; araj (arj-), to earn; garaj (garj), to make sound; bad (vad-), to say; taj (tyaj-), to leave; baraj (varj-), to abandon; sōbh (śōbh-), to beautify; sew (sev), to serve; tarap (tṛp), to satisfy; ts. duh (duh-), to milk; rac (rac), to arrange, to make.

§507. A number of roots which do not look like secondary formations cannot be traced to any OIA (Sanskrit) form. These are :

āṭ, to contain; ōṭ, to go on saying; olh, to jump from one branch to another; ujhuk, to stagger; awās, to make the first use; oṭhāgh, to lie down; caheṭ, to pursue; cihuk, to be very cautious; chār, to leave; juṭ, to unite together; jēw, to take food (Austrie: jōm-, to eat); jhāk, to peep; jhīṭ, to take a thing by cheating; jhāṭ, to butt with the head; jhār, to wipe the dust; jhōl, to bake green gram, wheat, etc.; jhōk, to put fuel into the fire; ṭāg, to hang; ṭōw, to feel; ṭip, to pinch with the finger; ṭōk, to call from behind; ṭūs, to take out tender sprouts, ṭūg, to take off the ear of wheat or barley; ṭhōk, to strike; ṭhel, to push; ḍapaṭ, to rebuke; ḍāk, to call; ḍhāk, to cover; tamakh, to be angry; tum, to clean the cotton and spread it; paṭak, to throw; phaṭk, to boast; phic, to wash; biṭōr, to collect; bāṭ, to distribute; bhēṭ, to meet; bhagaṭh, to become bad; loṭ, to lie down; laṭ, to fight; sān, to mix; sarpōṭ, to devour; hīc, to drag; huṭuk, to be on the point of death, etc.

(ii) Secondary or Derivative Roots

§508. The most characteristic of this class are the causatives. In Bhojpuri, causatives are formed by adding -āw to the primary verb root, e.g. baīṭh, to sit; baīṭhāw, cause to sit. There is also an extended form in wāw.

§509. The source of this *-āw* is MIA *-āva* from OIA *-āpa* which was primarily restricted in application to roots ending in the vowel *-ā*, though aberrations are also noticeable. The other OIA causative suffix *-āya* which became *-e* in MIA was largely superseded by *-āva* which in the main gave to the NIA languages their distinctive causal affixes.

§510. Bhojpuri *-wāw* is a double causative. The double causative is found as early as in the inscription of Aśoka, e.g. *kareti*, *karāpeti*, *lekhāpeti*. It is composed of *āpa*+*āp*. In this respect Bhojpuri can be compared with Assamese which also possesses double causative with suffixes *-owā*, *-uwā* in form though not in sense like Bhojpuri.

Bhojpuri roots form their causatives with *-āw* but if the roots contain a long vowel, it is shortened, viz. *ā* > *a*, *ī* > *i*, *ū* > *u*, *ē* > *e* and *ō* > *o*.

§511. *ā* : *ā* indicates the vowel relationship (ablaut) between the basic and the causative forms from OIA down to modern Bhojpuri, cf. *mār-*, *mār*; *pasār*, *pasār*, *nikās*, *nikās*; etc. On this basis new causatives or transitives were formed by lengthening the (short) vowel of an intransitive root; *kṛtyate* > *kaṭṭini* > *kāṭ*, to be cut, whence *kāṭ*, to cut; and by back formation some active or causative roots with long vowel were transformed into corresponding intransitive forms by weakening or shortening this long vowel, cf. Kh. Bōli *pālnā* < *pālā*; Bhojpuri does not appear to have many such back formations.

§512. Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in *-āw*.

Denominatives

§513. Nouns and participle adjectives which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs are called denominative roots. This practice of using nouns and participle adjectives as roots can be traced back right up to OIA. Even among the recognized OIA simple roots, there are many which are really denominatives.

In MIA this practice obtains a still greater vogue and a large number of MIA roots are formed from OIA past participles, e.g. *baithai* (*upaviṣṭa*-), *kaḍḍhai* (*kṛṣṭa*). From these two we get *baith* and *kāṭh* in Bhojpuri.

§514. In Bhojpuri, denominatives in *-ā-* are frequently formed even from foreign nouns and adjectives, e.g. *garmā*, to become hot, to be angry; *sarmā*, to be ashamed; *narmā*, to be ill.

§515. Denominative roots that have come down from MIA are treated as primary roots in Bhojpuri and do not take the denominative affix *-ā-*, e.g. MIA *piṭṭai* (*piṣṭa*) > *piṭ* in Bhojpuri.

§516. There are, however, some Bhojpuri denominative roots too, which do not have the *-ā-* affix. Owing to absence of literary records, it is not possible to fix with any amount of certainty as when the denominatives were first employed but it seems certain that the forms without denominative affix *-ā-* are earlier. Below is appended a list of selected denominative verbs:

ākur (*anikura*-), to give forth sprout; *alag* (*alagga*, *alagna*), to separate; *agīā* (*aggi*, *agni*), to burn; *āguriāw* (*aṅguli*-), to tease; *anhuā* (*andha*-), to be blinded; *uḡ* (**uggaa*, *udgata*-), to rise; *khaṭā* (Dēśī *khaṭṭa*), to become sour; *khōw* (**khawa*, *khaa*, *kṣaya*), to lose; *gāṭ* (Dēśī *gaḍḍa* ? < *garta*), to bury; *gōṭā* (**gōṭṭa* meaning

something round, cf. OIA *guṭikā*), to be hard (in case of grain); *gadarā* (*gadarā* is the fresh green grain in Bhojpuri), to appear, the grain in pod; *ghōr* (Dēśī *ghōla*, *ghōlla* < *ghūrṇa*), to mix, to stir; *gāthiāw* (*granihi*), to tie; *ghamā* (*gharma*), to sweat; *corāw* (*cāyura*), to commit theft; *ctiā* (*citra*-), to be spotted; *cinh* (*cin*), to recognize; *cir* (*cāra*, *cīvara*), slits, pierces; *cōkhā* (Dēśī *cōkkha*, meaning good, cf. Beng. *cōkhā*, to sharpen), to sharpen; *chin* (*chinna*), to snatch away; *chagarā* (*chāga*- * *chāgar*, MIA and Beng. *chāgal*, a goat), to be crossed by a goat; *chiṭ* (* *chiffa*, ? *kṣipta*), to sprinkle; *juṛā* (Bhoj. *jūr*, meaning cold, cf. Beng. *jur*), to be cold; *joṭ* (*jutta*, *yukta*), to yoke; *jarlā* (*jari*, meaning root, cf. Kh. Bōli *jaṛ* < MIA *jaḍa* < OIA *jaṭā*, matted and long hair), to take root firmly; *jām* (*janma*), to grow; *jarā* (*jvara*-), to suffer from fever; *jibhiāw* (*jihvā*), to lick; *jāt* (*yantra*), to press; *jhagar* (*jhagaḍa*, * *jhagaṭṭa*-), to quarrel; *ṭik* (Dēśī *ṭikka*), to have a mark on the forehead, to marry; *ṭeṛuā* (Bhoj. *ṭēṛh*, slant, cf. Beng. *ṭērā*, N. *ṭero* < * *ṭredḍ(h)a*), to be slant; *ṭemhiā* (Bhoj. *ṭēmhi*, a sprout, probably because it resembles the wicker of a country lamp while burning, cf. N. *ṭemma*, *ṭimma* and *ṭimikka*), to give forth sprout; *ṭūṛiā* (*ṭuṇḍa*), to bring out the ears of wheat and barley; *ṭil* (Bhoj. *ṭilā*, a mound, cf. Kh. Bōli and N. *ḍil* < * *ḍilla*), to heap; *ṭehuniā* (Bhoj. *ṭehun*, knee, cf. Beng. *ṭheṅg*, leg), to sit on the knee; *tāt* (*taṭṭa*), to be hot; *taṭl* (*taul*-), to weigh; *tāk* (*takkēi*, *tarkayati*), to gaze; *tītā* (*titta*-, *tikta*-), to be bitter; *ḍaṛhā* (* *ḍaḍḍha*, *dagḍha*-), to burn; *ḍaharāw* (Bhoj. *ḍahar*, way), to show the way, to drive away; *thanā* (*thāṇa*, *sthāna*-), to grow profusely at its place; *thām̐h* (*thambha*, *stambha*-), to stop, to come to a standstill; *hathiāw* (*hattha*, *hasta*-), to steal; *thirā* (*thira*, *sthira*), to stop; *dāt* (*danta*-), to cut teeth by animals; *dahiā* (*dadhi*), to be fermented; *dukhā* (*dukkha*, *duḥkha*), to feel pain; sts. *dagadh* (*dagḍha*), to burn; *dhūā* (Bhoj. *dhūwā* < *dhūma*), to give smoke; *nāth* (*nathā*, *nastā*), to run a noose through the nostril; *pāk* (*pakka*, *pakva*), to ripen; *patiā* (Pk. *pathia*, an early loan from Sk. *pratyayaḥ* which is inherited in Pāli *paccayo* and Pk. *paccā-*), to believe; *paiṭh* (*paiṭṭha*, *praviṣṭa*-), to enter; *piṭ* (*piṭṭa*-, *piṣṭa*), to beat; *pōchiāw* (*pum̐cha*, *puccha*), to pursue; *pirā* (*piḍa*-, *piḍā*), to give pain; *paniāw* (*pāniya*-), to irrigate; *phās* (cf. N. *phāṣnu* and *pāso* < *phamsa*, *pāsa*-, *pās*-), to entangle; *phenā* (*phēṇa*, *phēna*), to give foam; *baṛrā* (*vāṭula*, *vātula*), to become mad; *batlāw* (*vattā*, *vārttā*), to talk; *bakhān* (*vakkhāna*, *vyākhyān*-), to praise; *bāj* (*vajja*-, *vāḍya*-), to play music; *baṛhiā* (*vaḍḍhi*, *vr̥ddhi*-), to increase; *baradhā* (*baladda*, *balivarda*-), to be crossed by a bull; *bhūkh* (*bubhukkhā*, *bubhukṣā*), to be hungry; *bhaṇuā* (*bhaṅga*-), to be intoxicated; *mān* (*maggai*, *mārgati*, *mārgayati*, *mārga*-), to beg; *mūt* (*mutta*, *mūtra*), to make water; *mūṛiā* (*muṇḍa*-), to be engaged in a work headlong; *latiāw* (*latā*, a kick), to kick; *sūkh* (*sukha*, *śuṣka*-), to dry; *sudhiā* (*suddha*, *buddha*), to be corrected; *sonhā* (*sugandha*), to give good smell.

§517. Sanskrit denominatives in *ts*. or *sts*. forms, like Sk. roots and participial forms are rare in Bhojpuri. Below are given a few examples of *sts*. roots:

akulā (*ākula*), to be uneasy; *anann* (*ānanda*-), to be happy (this denominative is found in old Bhojpuri songs only, e.g. *tiriṃṃ*

anannellī hō, the woman becomes happy); alāp (ālāpa-), to sing; asis (āsīṣ), to bless; ts. nistār (nistāra-), to escape; sts. lobhā (lōbha-), to be greedy.

§518. Foreign denominatives are mainly from Persian or Perso-Arabic:—

kabulāw (qabūl قبول), to make one agree; khatīlāw (xat, خط), to record; gardaniāw (gardan, گردن), to drive away a man by catching hold of his neck; garmā (garma, گرم), to be hot, to be angry; gujar (guzar, گذر), to pass away; kasariā (kasar کسر), to be ill; jam (jama' جمع), to gather; tahlāw (tah تہ), to put one after another; dikiāw (diq, دق), to torment; dāg (dāg, داغ), to mark; nagicā (*nagīc < nazdīk), to be near; narmā (nurm), to be soft, to be ill; bakas (barš بخش), to set free; badal (badal بدل), to change.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English.

§519. *Compound and Suffixed Roots*

Compound roots are made up of either two roots combined or a root preceded by a noun or adverb or, in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative) modified by a suffix (ODBL, §628). Among the Māgadhan speeches we come across a few instances of the first type only in Bengālī, e.g. *dēkhā-sē*, *dekhā-sā*, come and see. This seems to be absent in Assamese and Bhojpurī. Possibly, the only example of the second type in Bhojpurī are—*naikhe*, to be not, *na + kṣī*; *pachatā*, to repent, *paścāt + tāpa*.

§520. The bulk of the secondary compound roots are suffixed. The principal suffixes are (i) क -k-, (ii) ट -ṭ-, (iii) ऋ -ṛ-, र -r-, (iv) ल l, (v) स -s-, (vi) च -c-.

These modify the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix.

§521. Sometimes these roots, in a sense, may be looked upon as denominatives from the nouns subjoined to the several affixes. In certain instances, however, the corresponding nominal forms are absent, cf. *camak*, to shine, is both a noun and a verb; but *paṭak*, to overthrow, is only a verb. The characteristic denominative affix -ā is also absent.

§522. Of these affixes (i) क -k- in Bhojpurī indicates generally the suddenness of the action or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Examples:

aṭak, to be confined, to be entangled (cf. Pāli *aṭṭa*, Pk. *aṭṭa* < *ārtaḥ* meaning oppressed + *kr*); usukā, to trim a lamp (? *utkarṣa*); gahak (*gāha*-, depth), to be in full swing; cūk, to be wrong (**cukk* < *cyut* -?); chapak, cf. N. *chapko* and *chapakka*, ND., p. 191, the word *chap* in Bhojpurī means 'noise produced by beating water'. Evidently, it appears to be an onomatopoeic and thus *chap + k*, to splash; chīṭik, to sprinkle; (**chīṭa* < **chitra*-, ND., p. 197); cihūk, to startle; cubhuk, to dive; jamak (Arabic *jama*- جمع, to collect), to gather in large number; jhapak (**jhappa*-, sudden and repeated

movement, cf. also N. *jhapandā* meaning 'lid', 'cover', to feel sleepy; *ṭhumuk*, *ṭhamak*, to walk with a dancing gait; *ṭasak*, to run away; *ṭapak*, (N. *ṭapkanu* < **ṭappa*- < **ṭappa*- (< *tarpa*-?), ND., p. 240), to fall down; *taṭak* (N. *taṭkanu* < **taṭakka*, cf. Sk. *taḍakāri*, crackling: Pk. *taḍakkāra*), to make shrill noise; *ṭhusuk*, to protest angrily in a low voice, cf. N. *ṭhussa*, displeased; *thuk* (*thut-kr*), to spit; *ḍahak*, to burn brightly (*dagdhā-kr*); *dhamak*, to beat incessantly; *phauk*, to be hasty; *pacak* or *picuk*, to depress; *phūk*, to blow (Hoernle: *sphut* or *phut+kr*); *būk*, to quote (cf. Ap. *bukkai*, Ho. 4/98, Hoernle: *brū* or *vad+kr*); *bahak*, to go astray (*vah-kr*); *bhaṭak*, to be confused (cf. N. *bhaṭkanu*); *bhacak*, to limp; *macak*, to be sprained; *rōk*, to hinder (*rudh-kr*); *suruk* (cf. N. *suṭukka* and *surko*), to inhale; *huṭuk*, to be on the point of death.

§523. The affix *z -ṭ-* is the *-ṣ-ṭ-ṣ* affix No. (18). It indicates continuity of the action. Examples:

gherawaṭ, to surround (*gher*, circumference *vṛtta*); *ghisaṭ*, to drag along (*gharṣa+vṛtta*); *ghusawaṭ* (*ghussā*-, the fist), to box; *capaṭ* (**cappa*-), to embrace; *karawaṭ*, to move from one side to another (*kara+vṛtta*); *cunawaṭ*, to whitewash (*cūrṇa+vṛtta*); *jhapaṭ*, to attack (*jhampa+vṛtta*); *ḍapaṭ*, to be aggressive (*darpa+vṛtta*); *lapaṭ*, to cling; *hurwaṭ*, to beat with the end of a stick (*hura*- < MIA *phura* < OIA *sphura*, a weapon, cf. H. *hūl*, a thrust, stab, and Sk. *śula*).

§524. Roots in *-ṛ-* < *-ḍa-*.

pakaṛ (**pakka-ḍ*-), to catch; *jhagaṛ* (Pk. *jhaga-ḍa*-), to quarrel; *bhakaṛ* (**bhakka-ḍa*-), to rot; *hākaṛ*, to shout (*hakka+ḍa*-, cf. N. *hakārnu* and *hāknu*, ND., pp. 628 and 634 < Sk. Lex. *hakkāraḥ*, call, Pk. *hakkārei*, calls and Sk. Lex. *hakkayati*, cries out; Pk. *hakkai*, drives back, shouts); *pachaṛ* (*paścāt* > *pacchā+ḍa*), to be backward.

§525. Roots in *-r-*.

kacar (cf. Sk. Lex. *kaccara*-, dirty, Pk. *kaccavāra*, sweepings, cf. also *kacerā* and Deśi *kacchara*-, mud), to eat voraciously, to press; *ukṭer* (**utkera*-, cf. *utkirati*, digs up), to dig; *gīṛor* (Sk. Pa. *gaṇḍa*, Pa. *gaṇḍi*, sugar-cane-joint, Bhoj. *gēṛ*, Beng. *gēr*, *tuber* < **geṇḍa*. The joint of sugar-cane possesses eye-like ball. Hence *gīṛor* = **geṇḍa* or **giṇḍa+ur*), to show eye, to display anger; *capar* (*cappa* < **carpa+ḍa*), to press; *juthār* (Sk. *juṣṭaḥ*, Pk. *juṭṭha+ā+ḍ*), to spoil by eating; *jhaṭkār* (**jhaṭ-ṭakka*-), to steal; *ṭahar* (cf. N. *ṭaharnu* < **stabhira*, cf. Sk. *stabhitāḥ*, fixed; ND., p. 250), to remain; *pukār* (Pk. *pukkārei*, *pokkārei*), to call; *sākār*, *sakār* (Sk. *satkaroti*, sets in order, *satkārayati*, respects: Pa. *sakkāreti*, Pk. *sakkārei*), to accept; *sīkur* (cf. N. *sikuṭe*, *sikro* and *sukuṭe* or *sikuṭe*—extension of *śuṭka*), to shrink.

§526. Roots in *ṣ -l-* are very rare probably on account of the influence of Hindi, e.g.

ṭahal (cf. N. *ṭahalnu* < **ṭahalla*-, an extension of Sk. *trakhati*, goes; see ND., p. 241), to walk; *phusilāw* (N. *phuslyāunu*, H. *phuslānā*, O. *phusalāibā*, G. *phoslāvvū*, M. *phuslāvinē*), to entice.

§527. Roots in -s-.

khamas, to be crowded; **gapas**, to be thickly interwoven; **garmas**, to be hot, to be sultry; **jhapas** (**jhappa*-, sudden movement), to be rainy and stormy; **jhāus**, to roast; **thāus**, to sit down; **bhakas** (**bhakk*-, cf. H. and N. *bhakkhak*, meaning 'puffing'), to be intensely dark.

§528. Roots in -c-.

This suffix indicates resemblance.

phokac (cf. Sk. *phūtkaroti*, blowing; Pk. *phukkai*), to turn into boils; **ṭhakac** (cf. H. *ṭakkar*, collision, and N. *ṭhakkar*—an extension of **ṭhakka*-), to gather; **ḍhakac** (cf. N. *dhakka*, come into full blossom, and *ḍakār* meaning 'belching' which becomes *ḍhakār* in Bhoj., an extension of **ḍakka*-), to vomit; **khamac**, to be crowded.

§529. Onomatopoeitics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoeitics Proper and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoeitics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

§530. Onomatopoeitic roots can be traced back to Vedic and classical Sanskrit but they were not so common then. The MIA dialects are especially rich in onomatopoeitics (see the paper of Mr. Kalipada Mitra in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VIII, Part I, 1940-41), e.g. *ṭaḍṭaphaḍai* (Hc. 4—366), to strive; *ṭharatharai*, to shake; *ḍhamadhamai*, to make noise; *phuraphurā-yadi* (Mṛcchakatika). Onomatopoeitics were included in the category of Dēśī words by Prakrit grammarians, as they could not show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. Onomatopoeitics of two types are found in the speech of ancient India (Vedic, Sk. and the Pks.); simple, like the Sanskrit nouns *jhaṅkāra*, *guñjana*, *kūjana*, Pk. verbs *jhaṅkārēi*, *guñjai*, *kujai* and reduplicated like late Sk. *khaṭkhaṭāyamāna*, *maḍamaḍāyitā*, *pharpharāyate*, etc.

§531. Onomatopoeitics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA languages. Like Bengālī, Bhojpuri also has got some onomatopoeitic reduplications which are ordinarily used as adverbs and modify verb of action, e.g. *jham-jham kaṭke pānī barisatā*, the rain is falling profusely; *han-han kaṭke gāṛī calatīā*, the train is passing very swiftly; *babuā āju kalhi ghaṭar-ghaṭar kaṭ ke dūdh pī jāt bā*, the child, nowadays, drinks milk with great liking.

§532. A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoeitic and a verb like *kar*, to do, may be regarded as a compound verb formation, e.g. *pānī me or mē ḍhelā phēkālā par chap-chap karelā*, when a pebble is thrown in water it makes chap-chap noise; *jōr se or sē hawā calalā par pataṭ khar-khar karēlē*, when the wind blows strongly, the leaves make khar-khar noise.

Examples of Onomatopoeitic Verbs in Bhojpuri

§533. (a) Onomatopoeitics Proper.

(i) Simple: *ṭap* (N. *ṭapnu*, connected with *ṭapkanu*, Bhoj. *ṭapak* < **ṭappa*-), to jump over; *phūk* (MIA *phukkai*, cf. OIA *phūtkaroti*), to blow; *hāk* (Sk. *Lex. haktayati*, cries out: Pk. *hakkai*, drives back, shouts), to drive away; *chik* (Pk. *chikkanta*-, cf. Sk. *Lex. chikkā*: Dēśī *chikkam*, sneeze), to sneeze; *hicuk*, to belch; *ṭhanakā* (*ṭhana*, cf. OIA *ṭhankāra*), to sound a coin.

(ii) Duplicated : *kaṭkaṭā*, sense of biting or breaking pain; *kurkurā*, to chew something; *khaṭkhaṭā*, to knock; *khankhanā*, to jingle; *jhan-jhanā*, to jingle; *carcarā*, to break; *ṭhakṭhakā*, to strike stick while fighting; *ṭukṭukā*, to look with glaring eyes; *bhukbhukā*, to burn the fire by ghost; *garṅarā*, to smoke a country pipe; *saṅsarā*, striking with a cane.

§534. (b) Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition :

phacphacā, be soaked with blood; *ṭanṭanā*, to have biting pain in head; *kackacā*, to be startled; *dhukdhukā*, to rise and fall; *khakhā*, *chachā*, a sense of extreme poverty; *galgalā*, to speak while weeping; *ganganā*, to shiver on account of fear.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and assonance echoes the preceding one, e.g.

culbulā, be eager to move away; *ḍhulmulā*, be shaky; *ujbujā*, to be tired; *kulbulā*, to be anxious to get up; *haṛbarā*, *sakpakā*, to be afraid to answer; *kasmasā*, to be ill; *kanmanā*, to murmur.

Roots and Verbal Nouns in Bhojpuri

§535. Although roots conceived as the foundation of a number of words are essentially the creations of grammarians, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness*. Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit we see that *drś* means, 'a seeing, a seer'; so *bhuj*, *bhu*, *prcch* are used as nouns; and similarly *vṛt* is that which turns and *vid* occurs as a noun in the sense of knower. The nominal inflections were added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern IE languages like English, French, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, Bhojpuri what was originally a combination of root+affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. Instances of such phonetically decayed *root nouns*, as they may be called, are fairly common in Bhojpuri. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative in relation to the verb with which they are employed, e.g. *nāc* in *nāc kañ*, to dance; *kāṭ-chāṭ*, cut and trim; *bhūl-cūk*, mistakes and omissions; *hār-jīt*, lose and win; *dhar-pakaṣ*, seizing and catching; *ḍāṭḍapaṭ*, frowning and rebuking; *phāṭ-phūt*, crack and split; *kaḥ-sun*, say and hear; *jār-bhun gañ*, to be burnt and fried; *tāp-tōp*, burn and cover; *hāk-ḍāk*, shout and yell; *bhāg-parā*, run and fly.

The verbal noun is used in the formation of compound verb. This will be discussed at a subsequent place.

(B) KINDS OF VERBS: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE

§536. Verbs in Bhojpuri are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur, e.g. *cal*, to walk; *bañṭh*, to sit; *nāc*, to dance; *khel*, to play; *kud*, to jump; *hās*, to laugh; *rō*, to cry; etc. Also denominatives like *pāk* (*pakva*), to ripe; *rūṭh* (*ruṭṭha*, *ruṭṭa*), to be angry;

māt (*matta*), to be intoxicated; *uḡ* (*ut+gala-*), to rise; *piṭ* (*piṭṭai*), to beat.

§537. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by the causative *-āw-* or by lengthening the radical vowel. In Bengālī, however, the *-ā* affix is essential for turning the intransitive into transitive and the quantity of the root-vowel is immaterial. In the matter of lengthening the radical vowel, Bhojpurī can be compared with other Bihārī dialects and Kh. Bōlī, e.g. *kāṭ*, *kāṭ*; *pasār*, *pasār*; *mār*, *mār*; etc. These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (see R. L. Turner—'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan' in the Proceedings and 'Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, 1922, p. 492).

§538. The transitive verb depends largely on its object. In Bhojpurī, as in other NIA languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case, i.e. only these do not take a dative affix like *-kē*, e.g. *ām bīnā*, gather mango; *bhāt khā*, eat rice; *lōhā tūrā*, break iron; *lāthī dā*, give the stick, etc. Animate nouns, when really in the accusative case, take the dative postposition *-kē* in Bhojpurī, when they are personal and definite; but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: *bhāisi carāwatāre*, grazes buffalo; but *bhāisi ke le calā*, take the buffalo.

The extension of dative postposition to the accusative is a NIA development. The NIA 'bhāve prayōga' or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense as in Kh. Bōlī *us-nē rōṭi kō khāyā*, by-him with-reference-to-the bread it was eaten, as opposed to the 'karmanī' or passive construction. *us-nē rōṭi khāi*, by him bread (fem.) she-was eaten, was also in the nature of things in MIA. As a matter of fact it is just a construction where the dative postposition came to be attached to the accusative for the precision as the inflection of the latter was lost and the verb-adjective no longer referred to the accusative but was in the neuter, e.g. Bhoj. *u admī-ke dēkhalasi*, Beng. *sē mānuṣ-ke dēkhilā*, he with-reference-to-the man saw (from an earlier construction—by him with-reference to-the man it-was-seen) and *u admī dēkhalasi*, Beng. *sē mānuṣ dēkhilā*, he man saw, are in their formation analogous respectively to the 'bhāve' and 'karmanī' constructions of Kh. Bōlī, etc. Only the Bhojpurī development (like Bengālī) has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the postpositional form.

(C) MOODS: OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE

§539. Bhojpurī like Bengālī possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative. The imperative occurs in the second and third persons and in the present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense'. An old future for the second person is used as a precative or future imperative. For the infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods of OIA—Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive and Precative—are entirely lost in Bhojpurī. The old present indicative (originating from the OIA *laṭ* of Sk. grammar) has become in Bhojpurī as much as in Kh. Bōlī a conditional or optative. The change of mood is noteworthy, e.g. *ham dekhi*, may I see, or, I may see, etc.

§540. The OIA *-yā* optative or precative became *-ṛyya-* in first MIA which gave later MIA *-ṛjja*, *-ijja* and assumed the personal terminations *-mi*,

-*si* (also -*hi*), -*ti* > *i*, etc., of the indicative, and sometimes -*tu* > -*u* of the third person imperative. This optative in -*j* is preserved as a respectful imperative in the midland and western NIA languages. The passive in *ijja-* and this optative both merged together as polite forms, e.g. Kh. Bōlt *kījiye*, please do; Gujrāṭī *marjē, mārjo*. In the poems of Kabīr, we find forms like *karijaj, kījaj*, e.g.

kahi kabīr jīwana pada kārana hari kī bhakti karijaj

(K.G., p. 303, pada 133).

mana mērē bhūlē kapaṭa na kījaj,
anta nibērā tērē jīya pahi lījaj.

(K.G., p. 309, pada 148).

It should be noted that the forms in -*ij-* are only restricted to roots *karnā*, to do; *pīnā*, to drink; *lenā*, to take; and *denā*, to give; in Kh. Bōlt.

In the popular verse *dukh sukh prabhu dijaj, lījaj sis nawā*, we meet with the optative form in -*j*; but in modern Bhojpuri and in other eastern languages, it is conspicuous by its absence. Dr. Chatterji is of opinion that probably -*ijja-* optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa but in the absence of records in Čaryās and Middle Bengālī, it is very difficult to say anything with certainty. The forms in Kabīr and in the stray verses are possibly an importation from the W.H. dialects.

§541. In modern Bhojpuri, the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb *je* with the postposition *mē* used as conjunction or with the conjunctions *ki* and *ta*, e.g. *ōkē bōlāwa ki dekhī* or *ōkē bōlāwa ta dekhī* or *ōkē bōlāwa je mē dekhī*, call him so that I may see him.

In a number of Bhojpuri documents collected by me and bearing the dates and year 1834 (San 1242 Sāl), the indicative with the pronominal adverb *je* without any postposition expresses the optative sense, e.g. *rasid likhī dihal jē wōkhaḍ (t ?) par kām āwe*, the receipt was written so that it may serve its purpose at time. This *je* can be compared with Middle Bengālī *jēna*, e.g. *āmī jēnd dekhī*, so that I may see.

§542. The subjunctive mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in classical Sanskrit. Bhojpuri in common with other NIA (except Assamese) possesses a present participle form which is used for the past subjunctive or conditional as well as past habitual, e.g. *jo ham dekhiti*, if I did see, etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bhojpuri with the help of the conjunction *jo*. In modern Bengālī, the conjunction is *yadi, jadi* but in O.B. the form is *jai*, e.g. *jai tō mūḍhā acchasi bhāntī puccha-tu sadguru-pāva* (Čaryā 41), if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master.

This use of *jai* is common in the Apabhraṃśa also, cf. Prākṛita-Paiṅgala, p. 211, *sēra ṛkka jai pāvī ghītā*, if I could get a seer of ghee.

§543. The paradigm for the imperative in the modern Bhojpuri is exactly the same as the old indicative present and the question of the origin of inflection will be discussed there in considering the indicative. In addition to this imperative which is now identical with the old indicative, Bhojpuri has created a new imperative by periphrasis, e.g. besides *u jāu*, let him go, we have *ōkārā ke jāe dā*, periphrastically.

(D) VOICE

§544. The passive in OIA was formed by adding *-ya* to the verb root. This *-ya* occurs as *-ya* (assimilated) or as *-iya*, *-iyya*, *-iya* in first MIA and as *-ijja* or *-ia* in second or third MIA. In NIA languages both *-ijja* > *-tja* and *-ia* > *-ia* are found as inherited from the Apabhraṃśa but they have not been preserved in all NIA languages. Early in the history of NIA, the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into disuse. The languages of the west have preserved the inflected passive but those of the midland, south and the east have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form (ODBL, §653).

§545. The inflected passive has been retained in Sindhi and is found optionally also in Rājasthānī (Mārwārī), Nepālī and Punjābī. It is formed by adding the following suffixes to the root :—

Sindhi: *-ij*, Rājasthānī (Mār.): *-ij*, Nepālī: *-iya*, Punjābī: *-ī*, e.g. S. *dije*, *pīje*, etc., let it be given, drunk, etc. Nep. *parhiye*. Punj. *parhie*. Rāj. (Mār.) *parhijai*, etc. (Hoernle, §§ 480, 481).

All other NIA languages form the passive analytically with the verb *√yā*, to go (Hoernle, §480).

Relics of the old inflected passive in Early and Middle Bengālī have been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (ODBL, §§655ff.).

§546. There are plentiful examples of the old inflected passive in Kōśalī ('Rama Carita Mānasa' of Tulasīdāsa), Maithilī (Vidyāpati) and some in 'Varṇa-Ratnākara' of Jyotirīśvara-Kaviśekhara-cārya, e.g. Kōśalī: Tulasīdās (N: P. Sabhā edition, 1940), p. 503.

sōciya bipra jō beda bihinū,
taji nija dharamu bisaya layalinā.

'That Brahmin is to be lamented who has no knowledge of Veda and who leaving his duties is absorbed in lust.'

In the continuation of the above we have also the following examples :—

sociya bayasu krpina dhanawānū,
jō na atithi siva bhagata sujānū.
sociya sūdra bipra apamānī,
mukhara mānapriya gyāna gumānī.
sociya puni pativamcaka nārī,
kuṭila kalahapriya ichācārī.
sociya baṭu nija bratu pariharai,
jō nahī guru āyasu anusarai,
etc. etc.

Maithilī—Vidyāpati ('Vidyāpati ki Padāwali', 2nd Edition, Lahoriyā Sarāya, Darbhanga):

lakhae na paria jēṭha kanēṭha (p. 16),

'cannot be distinguished (whether) old (or) young'.

jata dekhala tata kahae na pāria (ibid., p. 16),

'as was seen, could not be described'.

'Varṇa-Ratnākara' (Royal Asiatic Society), Introduction, p. viii:

ūru chāḍāwa jīhwā na chāḍae,

'the palate is freed, but the tongue does not leave'.

se bolahi na pāriai,

'that cannot be described'.

§547. Bhojpurī is not a literary language, so we do not find in it such examples of inflected passive (except in *cāhī* which is a survival and in *puje man ke ās*, the expectation of mind is fulfilled, in 'bārha-māsā song' (collected by Grierson in Appendix, page 164 of his 'Seven Grammars of Bihari Language', Part II) but considering the other Māgadhan speeches, it can very well be surmised that it existed in old Bhojpurī as in Bengālī.

Sometimes, we come across such idiomatic expressions in Bhojpurī where inflected passive is disguised both in its form and nature, e.g.

i kām kare nā (cf. Bengālī: *ē kājē karē nā*), should not do this; *kahalā se khāi nā*, does not eat when said; *kahalā se dhōbī gadahā par nā caṛhē*, a washerman does not ride his ass when (he is) requested, etc.

Analytical Formation of the Passive

§548. The living method for the formation of passive in Bhojpurī is analytical and periphrastic like Bengālī and Assamese. In all NIA languages except the ones noted above, the passive is grammatically formed by adding to the past participle of the active verb, the auxiliary verb *√jā*, to go. But the passive sense is often more idiomatically expressed by means of verbal compounds, e.g. *u mār khaile*, he was beaten; *jal sē bhari gailē tāl talāi*, the lakes and ponds are filled with water ('Seven Grammars', Part II, p. 166).

The passive with *√jā* occurs very frequently in Bhojpurī, e.g. *hamrā ghar se okar ghar dekhal jālā*, his house is seen from my house; *dūdh me bheī ke rōṭī khāil jālā*, the bread is eaten after soaking it in milk; *garmī kā kāran se dupahariyā me suruj nā dekhal jāle*, the sun is not seen at noon on account of heat.

When the action is more prominent or when the real object is put in dative, with postposition *ke*, the passive is properly speaking transformed into the neuter voice or construction (बादे प्रयोग); e.g. *hamrā ke dekhal jāu*, you or your honour see me, lit. 'by-you with-reference-to-myself seen is'; *dūdh me rōṭī ke bheī ke khāil jālā*, the bread is eaten after soaking it in milk, but lit. 'by-people with-reference-to-bread is eaten after soaking it in milk'.

We have numerous instances of neuter construction in Bhojpurī, e.g. *khāil jāi*, will be eaten; *kail jāi*, will be done; *dhail jāi*, will be held, etc.

§549. The origin of this *jā*- passive has been connected at least partly to the influence of MIA passive in *-ijja* (Hoernle, §481, Beames, III, pp. 73, 74; ODBL, §663). It has been said that old forms like *parhijai*, *karijai* began to be looked upon as compounds of the past participles *parhi*, *kari* = (Pk. *parhia*, *karia* = Sk. *parhita*, *kṛta*). But considering that no *-ijja* forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive in Bengālī and other Māgadhan speeches (ODBL, p. 924), it is likely that the passive in *-√jā* might have come from the root *√jā* quite independently as an early NIA formation.

The Passive in -ā-

§550. The passive in *-ā-* is found in Bengālī, Oṛiyā, Assamese and other Māgadhan speeches. It is found in eastern and western Hindī also. The following are its examples in modern Bhojpurī:—

unhukar ghar roj jharālā, his house is daily cleaned; **jab larikā du baris ke ho jālesa ta urhanī ke kān chedālā**, when children are two years old, their ears are bored; **aneti calalā se adimi pamc me bejālā kahālā**, a man is said to be bad in society by living dishonestly.

This passive in *ā* is also found in Kabīr, 'Bijaka Mūla', p. 17:—

adṛṣṭ kahāwe soya, 'he is called invisible'.

Again page 24:—

so bana dekhata jīwa ḍerānā, the soul was frightened seeing that forest.

§551. The *-ā-* passive has been explained as a causative or potential form, originating from the causative affix *-ā-*, *-āv-* < OIA *ā-pa-ya* (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar', §484; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR', §140). But a more reasonable derivation—as suggested by Grierson and accepted by Dr. Chatterji, ODBL, §671—is from the denominative *-āya-* of OIA. The Bihārī speeches offer a clue to the source of this *-ā-* passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as in Bhojpurī, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally *-āya-* distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is, in many forms *-āwa-* (< *-āpaya-*). Thus the causative bases in Bhojpurī are **chedāwā**, **kaṭāwā**, to bore, to cut, etc.; but the potential passive bases are **chedā**, **kaṭā**. But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused owing to interchange of *-w-* and *-y-* as intervocal glides. In the other NIA speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both *-āya-* and *-āwa-* being reduced to *-ā-* or to *-aw-*.

§552. As compared with the analytical passive in *jā*, the passive in *ā* has a peculiar force in Bhojpurī, intimating, not that a thing is done but that it *can be* done. Thus **i pōthī paṛhālā**, this book *can be* read, but **i pōthī paṛhal jālā**, this book *is read* daily.

The Passive-Active Construction

§553. Bhojpurī like Bengālī and Assamese shows certain examples of impersonal constructions which seem to have been originally extensions of the inflected passive in *-ya-*, e.g. **saṅkh bāje balāl bhāge** (when) the conch is blown, the troubles are away; **marad mue nām ke nimarad mue peṭ ke**, a (brave) man dies for the name (prestige) while a coward for his belly. It should be noted that the above expressions are becoming archaic and obsolete in modern Bhojpurī.

(E) THE TENSES OF BHOJPURĪ VERB

§554. The tenses of Bhojpurī verb can be classified as follows, taking note of their origin. (The numbers of the tenses in order are given by Arabic numerals within brackets after the name of the tense.)

(I) Simple Tenses.

- (a) Radical tense (1).
- (b) s > h- future or the future of inflectional origin (2).
- (c) Participial tenses.

- (i) Simple past (3)

- (α) Without -l
 - (β) With -l

- (ii) Simple future (4)

- (With -b form)

- (iii) Past conjunctive (5)

- (d) Dialectical present or agglutinated present in -lā (6).

(II) Compound Tenses.

As in the formation of the compound tenses, the substantive verb in the present, past and future is indispensable, the Bhojpuri substantives are discussed first of all before taking the compound or periphrastic tense forms.

(a) Progressive Tenses.

- (i) Present (7)

- (α) Present progressive (positive) with -bāñī.
 - (β) Present progressive (negative) with -nañkhī.

- (ii) Past progressive (8)

- (iii) Future progressive (9)

- (α) with -h- future.
 - (β) with -b- future.

(b) Conjunctive Tenses.

- (i) Present progressive conjunctive (10)

- (ii) Past progressive conjunctive (11)

- (iii) Future progressive conjunctive (12)

(c) Perfect Tenses.

- (i) Present (13)

- (α) Present perfect (positive) with -bāñī.
 - (β) Present perfect (negative) with -nañkhī.

- (ii) Past perfect (14)

- (iii) Future perfect (15)

(d) Perfect conjunctive.

- (i) Present perfect conjunctive (16)

- (ii) Past perfect conjunctive (17)

- (iii) Future perfect conjunctive (18)

(I) SIMPLE TENSES

(a) Radical Tense

§555. The Radical Tense (Indicative Mood) has the following forms in modern Bhojpuri :

- | | | |
|----|----------------|--|
| 1. | 1st person | Sg. ham -ī, cal-ī. |
| | 1st „ | Pl. haman(i)kā -ī jā, calī-jā. |
| 2. | (a) 2nd „ | Contemptuous Sg. tē -ū, cal-ū. |
| | 2nd „ | Pl. tohan(i)kā -asanhi, -asan, -asā, -asa. |
| | | cal-asanhi, cal-asan, cal-asā, cal-asa. |
| | (b) 2nd person | Ordinary Sg. tu -ā, calā. |
| | 2nd „ | Pl. tohan(i)log -ā, calā. |
| | (c) 2nd „ | Honorific Sg. rauā -ī, calī. |
| | 2nd „ | Pl. rauāsabh -ī, calī. |
| 3. | (a) 3rd „ | Contemptuous Sg. u -o, calo. |
| | 3rd „ | Pl. unhan(i)kā -asanhi, -asan, -asā, -asa. |
| | | cal-asanhi, cal-asan, cal-asā, cal-asa. |
| | (b) 3rd person | Ordinary Sg. u -asū, cal-asū. |
| | 3rd „ | Pl. ulog -o, cal-o. |
| | (c) 3rd „ | Honorific Sg. uhākā -ī, cal-ī. |
| | 3rd „ | Pl. uhāsabhkā -ī, cal-ī. |

Origin :

§556. The Radical Tense is obsolete in modern Bhojpuri in the sense of simple present except this that some instances are found in proverbs and songs. This is derived from OIA laṭ (लट्) and is now like the Hindi optative, e.g. Bhoj. ham dekhī (= Hindi *mai dekhū*), may I see?; Bhoj. u dekho (= Hindi *wah dekhe*), may he see?

First Person

§557. In old Bhojpuri, we find the first person singular *mē calō* and for the plural *ham calī*. We can compare this with Gujrātī: *hū cālū* and plural *ame calie* as well as the early and middle Bengālī form: Sg. *mai*, *muī calō*, Pl. *āmhi* > *āmī calie*, *calī*, *cali* (Dr. Chatterji in his ODBL, p. 935, gave different derivations for Bengālī *calō*, *cali* but the above one he now accepts as he told me verbally following Prof. M. Shahidullah's paper on the subject in the 'Journal of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad' which gave statistical evidence from early Bengālī literature showing that *calō* was singular and *cali* plural originally) also Assamese and Kośalī *calō*.

Probably, in old Bhojpuri, this *cal-ō* was used with pronoun *haṭ* but it appears, later on, *mē calō* suppressed this *haṭ calō*. The origin of *calō* is *calāmi*. The OIA affix *-āmi* became in Ap. *-aū* and finally it was changed to *-ō*.

The modern Bhojpuri singular form *calī* (in *ham calī*) can be derived from **calyate* (*asmābhiḥ*: *asma- calyate*) which became **hamai*, *hama*, *caliaī*, *calie*, *calī*; and then there was nasalization as a result of a feeling that the plural should have a nasal sound as in the noun (< genitive plural).

(In plural (*hamanikā*) *calī jā*, this *jā* appears to be an emphatic word added to emphasize the plural notion. This *jā* has been derived from *jāē, jāī* in the same way as *calī*.)

It appears that people forgot that *ham calī* was a passive form. Then the original plural *calī* drove out the singular *calō* when *ham* itself became singular.

Second Person

§558. (a) *Contemptuous tē*. The question of the origin of *tē* (< *trayā + ena*) as an inferior second personal pronoun as opposed to *tu* (< *tu-am*), the nominative, as the ordinary second personal pronoun has been noted before. Evidently *tē* became to the mind of Bhojpurī speakers a nominative form with all trace of its instrumental origin lost. So naturally the old imperative second personal singular forms were attached to *tē* in an inferior or contemptuous sense.

In Bhojpurī, the affix *-u* is used for the second person inferior, e.g. *cal-u*. The old Bhojpurī affix *-ahu* (*cal-ahu*) is also found in Maithilī and Kośalī. In its formation, there appears to be a convergence or merging together of three OIA imperative second person singular affixes, namely, the 'parasmāpada' *-a-* and *-hi* (*cal-a*, **cal-a-hi*, cf. *yāhi, pāhi, dehi, trāhi*, etc.) and 'ātmanepada' *-sva* (*cala-sva, labha-sva*) which became *-ssu* in MIA. In Ap. *-ssu* > *su*; and on the analogy of *cala-su, calahi* became *calahu* in old Bhojpurī and *calu* in modern Bhojpurī.

The second person inferior plural forms *cala-sanhi, cal-a-san, calasā, calasa* are the same as the third person inferior plural forms. It appears that the third person inferior plural forms have been extended to second person inferior plural. For its derivation, see below under third person.

(b) *Second Person Ordinary tū*. Singular has the affix *-ā* in Bhojpurī. This emphasis on *-ā* is sometimes indicated by an extra (a) (*calā* = चाला). In modern Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā, the affix is *-ā*.

In the formation of this *-ā* affix, there appears to be a convergence of OIA imperative second person plural affix as well as of indicative second person plural affix in the following manner:—

OIA *cal-a-ta + cal-a-tha* > **calaha* > *calā*. It is also possible to derive it from OIA *calata*:—*cal-a-ta* > *cal-a-a calā*.

The second person ordinary plural affix is also *-ā* (*tohan(i)log calā*).

(c) *Second Person Honorific rauā* has *-ī* affix (*rauā calī*). This can be derived from *calanti*.

Third Person

§559. (a) *Contemptuous u* has the affix *-o* (*u calo*). It would seem to be derived from the OIA third person imperative sg. *calatu* in the following manner:—

calatu > *calau* > *calo*.

It appears that when imperative and indicative became confused, this was transferred to indicative. Further the chances of confusion of the present (the form *calati* > *calai* > *cale*) with the future (*caliṣyati* > *calihu* > *calū*) was avoided by bringing the *-au* > *-o* form.

The third person plural contemptuous forms are *unhan(i)kā cala-sanhi, calasan, calasā, calasa*. The forms *calasan, calasā* and *calasa* are the subsequent short forms of *calasanhi* which can be analysed as *calasī* (or *calasū*)+*anhi*. For the derivation of *calasī* or *calasū* see

below. As regards *-anhi*, it is nothing but the plural genitival suffix, e.g. *ghoṛanhi*, the horses (*-anhi* is also found as a plural suffix in Kośali, e.g. *loganhi*, 'Rama Carita Mānasa' of Tulasidāsa).

(b) *Ordinary u singular* has the affix *-asu* (*u calasu*). Probably the old Bhojpuri singular was *u calai* but later on it was suppressed by *u calasi*. (It seems *calasi* was at first used in the past tense of transitive verb, cf. Kośali, *dekhesi* > *dekhis*, cf. also western Bengālī dialect which has different set of affixes for the transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. transitive: *dile*, *nile*, *mārle*, *korle*, *dhorle*, etc. but intransitive: *collo*, *elo*, *roilo*, etc.). This *-si* of *calasi* either comes from Māgadhi *śe* or Ardha-māgadhi *se* < OIA *saḥ*. This *si* was changed in Bhojpuri to *su* (*calasu*), either on account of the influence of 'u' of *calatu*, *calau* or due to *su* (nominative) of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa *saḥ*.

(c) *Third Person Honorific uḥā kā calī*. It was just the old Bhojpuri plural form **calai* (*u calai*) < *calanti*, where the verbal *-anti* (expected to give *-at* in Bhojpuri) has been supplied by a nominal or pronominal affix *-nhi* or *-nh-* > ~, ultimately from the inter-influence of genitive plural *ānām* > *-ṇa* and the instrumental plural *ebhiḥ* > *hi* of MIA.

(b) *The s > h- Future or the Future of Inflectional Origin*

§560. This is found only in second and third person (contemptuous and ordinary) in modern Bhojpuri. The following are its forms :—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>tē calihe</i> .
2nd	"	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā : caliha-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.</i>
2nd	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tū calihā</i> .
2nd	"	Pl. <i>tohan(i)log calihā</i> .
3rd	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u calī</i> .
3rd	"	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā calihē- sanhi, san, -sā, -sa.</i>
3rd	Ordinary	Sg. <i>u calihē</i> .
3rd	"	Pl. <i>u lōg calī</i> .

§561. This inflectional or *-s-* future is preserved in many forms of NIA as *-s-*, *-ś-*, *-h-* in Hindi (Lahndā), Rājasthānī (Jaipuri and Mārwarī), Gujrātī and western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā, Kanauji, Bundeli) and partially in eastern Hindi (in the third person only in Awadhī and Baghelī and in all the persons in Chattisgarhī). Of the Māgadhi speeches, besides Bhojpuri, Magadhī preserves it in third person (besides the *-t-* future) and in the second person as future precativē; in Maithilī and in modern Bengālī it is found in the second person as a future imperative and in Assamese and Oṛiyā it seems to have been entirely lost.

So far as Bhojpuri is concerned, this *s > h-* future in the second person is exactly like the Maithilī and Bengālī (it is found as a future imperative) but in the third person it gives the sense of future.

This change of intervocal *-as* or *-s* to *h* is not an eastern trait, and this *h-* future consequently is to be looked upon as a western form, which has impressed itself on the dialects of the East.

Origin :

§562. The derivation of second person singular (contemptuous) *calihe* appears to be from *caliṣyasi* as follows :—

caliṣyasi > **calihasi* > **calihahi* > **calihai* > *calihe*.

The second person plural (contemptuous) seems to be a new formation: *calihe* > *caliha* + *sanhi*. The derivation of *-sanhi* has already been given in the radical tense.

The second person singular and plural (ordinary) has been derived from *caliṣyatha* as follows:—

caliṣyatha > *calihā*.

Originally this was used for the second person plural but now it is used for second person singular and plural both.

§563. The third person singular (contemptuous) *cali* seems to be derived from *caliṣyati* as: *caliṣyati* > **calihii* > *cali*, while third person plural (contemptuous) *calihēsanihi* = *calihē* + *sanhi*. This is a new formation. The origin of *calihē* seems to be *caliṣyanti*.

The third person singular (ordinary) *calihē* is the same as third person plural (contemptuous), while third person plural (ordinary) *cali* appears to be originated from **calyatām* as follows: **calyatām* > **caliau* > *cali*, perhaps through the influence of similar passive construction in the first person radical tense.

(c) Participial Tenses.

(i) Simple Past

§564. In Bhojpuri this is found in two forms (α) past without *-l* forms and (β) past with *-l* forms. First the past without *-l* forms will be discussed.

(α) Past without *-l*

§565. The characteristic of the modern Māgadhan speeches is the *l* forms in the past tense but the non *l* forms are also found in them probably due to the influence of western Apabhraṃśa. This is corroborated by numerous examples quoted by Dr. Chatterji from the old and middle Bengālī literature (see ODBL, §§687, 688).

§566. Below is given the conjugation of transitive root $\sqrt{\text{dekh}}$. There is no difference in conjugation between the transitive and intransitive roots, the same affixes being used for both:—

Masculine

1st person		Sg. ham dekhui.
1st "		Pl. haman(i)ka dekhui jā.
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. tē dekhue.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā dekhua-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tū dekhua.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)log dekhua.
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. rauā dekhui.
2nd "	"	Pl. rauā sabh dekhui.
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. u dekhue.
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā dekhuan-sanhi, -ansan, -ansā, -ansa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. u dekhuanī.
3rd "	"	Pl. u log dekhue.
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. uhākā dekhui.
3rd "	"	Pl. uhā sabhkā dekhui.

Feminine

The following forms are found in feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Sg. tě same as masculine.
2nd	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā dekhūu-saṇhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	Ordinary	Sg. tū dekhūu.
2nd	"	Pl. tohan(i)log dekhūū.
3rd	Contemptuous	Sg. u same as masculine.
3rd	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā dekuī-saṇhi, -saṇi, -sā, sa.

Origin :

§567. Evidently in the above forms the base **dekhu** has come down from the western Apabhraṃśa where the *u*-form represents the nominative (masculine or neuter) singular. The fact is to be noted that when the original passive construction was lost in Bhojpuri as in other Māgadhan speeches as well as in Kōśali, the Prakritic construction with the passive participle became a regular verb in Bhojpuri, and it began to be conjugated by adding personal terminations which came from the radical tense as well as from the *s > h*-future.

First Person

§568. The first person singular **dekhuī = dekhu + ī** where **ī < iu < -io < ido < ito < itaḥ**. The nasalization has already been explained in the origin of radical tense.

The plural **dekhuī-jā = dekhu + ī + jā**. This **jā**, too, has already been discussed in the origin of the radical tense.

Second Person

§569. The second person contemptuous singular **dekhue = dekhu + e**, where **-e** appears to be derived from **-asi** in the following way:—

-asi > -aḥi > -ai > -e.

The second person contemptuous feminine singular **dekhūṣaṇhi = dekhu + ū + s + aṇhi**, where **-u** seems to have come from second person contemptuous singular **-ū (calū)**.

This **-ū** is again found in second person ordinary feminine singular and plural (**tū : dekhūū** and **tohan(i)log : dekhūū**) but there it has become long **ū**, perhaps on account of stress.

The second person contemptuous masculine plural **dekhuaṣaṇhi = dekhu + a + saṇhi**. This **-asaṇhi** has already been explained in the origin of radical tense.

Third Person

§570. The third person contemptuous singular **dekhue** has the same affix as second person contemptuous singular.

The third person contemptuous plural **dekhuaṣaṇhi, etc. = dekhu + a + saṇhi**. This **-asaṇhi** affix is the same as that of the third person contemptuous plural affix of the radical tense.

The third person ordinary singular **dekhuaṇi = dekhu + aṇi**. This **-aṇi** comes from the genitive plural **-āṇām**.

In the third person ordinary plural masculine **dekhue**, there seems to be some relic of the passive construction or where **-e** has possibly come from **-aḥi** the instrumental for the nominative, added to the verb.

The third person contemptuous feminine plural **dekhūisanhi** = **dekhu + i + sanhi**. This -i appears to come from -ikā as follows:—

-ikā > ia > i > I.

N.B.—The affixes for the second person ordinary singular and plural, second person honorific singular and plural and third person honorific singular and plural are in a line with those of the radical tense and, therefore, their origin is not discussed here. For these, see under the origin of the radical tense above.

(β) The Past Base with -I

§571. The origin of the I- past has been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (ODBL, pp. 937ff.). The past base in -il in Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā, in -al in the Bihārī speeches and in -il, -al in Marāṭhī and similar I- forms in the other NIA languages originated from the OIA -ia, -ita plus the OIA diminutive or adjectival suffix -la in the extended forms -ila, -ala > -illa (-ēlla), -alla (ODBL, §682). (There was also a suffix -ula which is found in adjective *vātula* > Bhoj. *baur*, Hindi: *bayrā*.)

§572. In modern Bhojpuri, the following are the forms of past tense with -I past:—

Masculine

1st person		Sg. ham dekhali.
1st	"	Pl. haman(i)kā dekhali-jā.
2nd	" Contemptuous	Sg. tē dekhālē.
2nd	" "	Pl. tohan(i)kā dekhala-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	" Ordinary	Sg. tu dekhālā.
2nd	" "	Pl. tohan(i)log dekhālā.
2nd	" Honorific	Sg. rauā dekhali.
2nd	" "	Pl. rauā sabh dekhali.
3rd	" Contemptuous	Sg. u dekhalasi.
3rd	" "	Pl. unhan(i)kā dekhale-sanhi, -san, -sā, sa.
3rd	" Ordinary	Sg. u dekhal-ani, dekh-ale.
3rd	" "	Pl. u log dekhal.
3rd	" Honorific	Sg. uhākā dekhali.
3rd	" "	Pl. uhā sabh kā dekhali.

The forms of the first person, second person honorific, second person contemptuous singular, third person honorific, third person contemptuous singular and third person ordinary plural are the same in both masculine and feminine genders. The rest differ in feminine gender. They are shown below:

Feminine

2nd person Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā dekhali-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	" Ordinary Sg. tū dekhālū.
2nd	" " Pl. tohan(i)log dekhālū.
3rd	" Contemptuous Pl. unhan(i)kā dekhal-i-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd	" Ordinary Sg. u dekhali.

§573. This tense refers to a momentary action which happened in the past, e.g. *jab ham uhā gaill ta kuchu nā dekhall*, when I went there, I saw nothing. If a continuous action in the past is meant, a root indicating action is combined with one expressing momentary action, e.g. *ham baithall*, I sat; *ham baithal rahall*, I remained seated.

§574. Used conjunctively, this tense refers to a future action, e.g. *jo ham bajārē gaill ta toharā khātir ām le āibi*, if I go (lit. if I went) to the market, I shall bring mangoes for you.

§575. It must be noted that for the intransitive root (e.g. $\sqrt{\text{cal}}$) there is an extra form *calal* for the third person contemptuous singular 'u' but now the form *calalasi* on the analogy of *dekhalsi* is also being used. This can be compared with *Kosali* which has different terminations for transitive and intransitive verbs for the third person and also with the western *Bengālī* dialect which has different set of affixes for the transitive and the intransitive verbs but which is now partially vanishing giving place to one set of the affixes only.

Origin :

§576. The base in above forms is evidently *dekhāl* and the terminations have been added to it. The affixes are in a line with those of the past without -l and their origin has been discussed there.

§577. The tense-forms of the past base with -l may be made to mean action just now completed by the addition of the particle *hā* or *hā*, which may be of adverbial origin meaning 'here' or 'now', the nasalization being due to contamination with the first personal and with the honorific forms.

§578. The following are the forms of this tense :—

1st person		Sg. <i>ham dekhall-hā</i> .
1st	"	Pl. <i>hāman(i)kā dekhall-hā-jā</i> .
2nd	" Contemptuous	Sg. <i>tē dekhale-hā</i> .
2nd	" "	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā dekhālā-hā-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa</i> .
2nd	" Ordinary	Sg. <i>tū dekhālā-hā</i> .
2nd	" "	Pl. <i>tohan(i)log dekhālā-hā</i> .
2nd	" Honorific	Sg. <i>rauā dekhall-hā</i> .
2nd	" "	Pl. <i>rauā sabh dekhall-hā</i> .
3rd	" Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u dekhalsi-hā</i> .
3rd	" "	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā dekhale-hā-sanhi, -san, sā, -sa</i> .
3rd	" Ordinary	Sg. <i>u dekhālani-hā, dekhale-hā</i> .
3rd	" "	Pl. <i>ulōg dekhāl-hā</i> .
3rd	" Honorific	Sg. <i>uhākā dekhall-hā</i> .
3rd	" "	Pl. <i>uhāsabh kā dekhall-hā</i> .

The following forms are found in feminine only :—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā dekhālū-hā-sanhi, -san, -sā, sa</i> .
2nd	" Ordinary	Sg. <i>tū dekhālū-hā</i> .
2nd	" "	Pl. <i>tohan(i)log dekhālū-hā</i> .
3rd	" Contemptuous	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā dekhali-hā-sanhi, -san, -sā, sa</i> .
3rd	" Ordinary	Sg. <i>u dekhalli-hā</i> .

(ii) Simple Future or -b future

§579. The following are the forms of the simple future in Bhojpuri:—

1st person		Sg. ham dekhabi.
1st	"	Pl. haman(1)kā dekhabi-jā.
2nd	" Contemptuous	Sg. tē dekhabe.
2nd	" "	Pl. tohan(1)kā dekhaba-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	" Ordinary	Sg. tū dekhāb-ā.
2nd	" "	Pl. tohan(1)log dekhāb-ā.
2nd	" Honorific	Sg. rauā dekhabi.
2nd	" "	Pl. rauā sabh dekhabi.
3rd	" "	Sg. uhā kā dekhabi.
3rd	" "	Pl. uhā sabh kā dekhabi.

For the third person contemptuous and ordinary singular and plural the s > h- future forms are used and not the -b- future forms.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(1)kā dekhābū-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	" Ordinary Sg. tū dekhābū.
2nd	" " Pl. tohan log dekhābū

§580. This tense refers to a future action, e.g. ham miṭhāi khāibi, I shall eat sweetmeats. As compared with this, the future progressive refers to an action which will be in the process of being acted: jab tū aibā ta ham khāt rahabi, when you come (lit. you will come) I shall be eating (i.e. you will find me eating); and the future perfect refers to an action which will have been completed, e.g. jab tū aibā ta ham khaile rahabi, when you come (lit. you will come) I will have finished eating.

Origin :

§581. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā is -ib and in Kosālī and Bihārī speeches it is -ab. It comes from the OIA future passive participle (gerundive) in -tavya or -itavya > MIA -avva, -abba, -ēbba and other forms (Pischel, §570). This suffix carries a vague mandatory sense with an express future implication, and in NIA the simple future notion evolved gradually.

§582. The base is dekhāb and the terminations have been added to it. The affixes for the first, second and third persons masculine and feminine singular and plural are in a line with those of the simple past. The origin of these affixes has already been given.

(iii) Past Conjunctive

§583. The following are the forms of the past conjunctive in Bhojpuri:—

1st person		Sg. ham dekhiti.
1st	"	Pl. haman(1)kā dekhiti-jā.
2nd	" Contemptuous	Sg. tē dekhiti.
2nd	" "	Pl. tohan(1)kā dekhita-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	" Ordinary	Sg. tū dekhita.

2nd person Ordinary	Pl. tohan(i)lōg dekhitā.
2nd „ Honorific	Sg. rauā dekhitī.
2nd „ „	Pl. rauā sabh dekhitī.
3rd „ Contemptuous	Sg. u dekhit.
3rd „ „	Pl. unhan(i)kā dekhite-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd „ Ordinary	Sg. u dekhit.
3rd „ „	Pl. u lōg dekhit.
3rd „ Honorific	Sg. uhā kā dekhitī.
3rd „ „	Pl. uhā sabh kā dekhitī.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only :—

2nd person Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā dekhitu-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd „ Ordinary	Sg. tū dekhitū.
2nd „ „	Pl. tohan(i)lōg dekhitū.
3rd „ Contemptuous	Sg. u dekhitī.
3rd „ „	Pl. unhan(i)kā dekhiti-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd „ Ordinary	Sg. u dekhitī.

§584. This tense denotes (in a conditional or purpose clause) an action which might have taken place in the past but which never came off, e.g. *jō ham tankī pahilē calal rahitī ta ṭisan par gārī mili jāitī*, I would have got the train at the station, if I had started a bit earlier; *tū aīsan kām karitā ki ham uhā se bhāgi jāitī*, you should have acted in such a manner that I should have escaped.

Compared with past progressive conjunctive (e.g. *jō tu khāt nā rahitā ta ham bē pitalē nā choṛitī*, if you had not been eating—i.e. in the process of eating—I would have beaten you) and past perfect conjunctive (e.g. *jō tu i apanē kaile rahitā ta ṭhik nā bhaīl rahit*, if you yourself had done it—finished doing—it would not have been right), this tense refers not to completion or incompletion of an action but simply infers that it did not take place in the past.

. Origin :

§585. The base is *dekhit* which is = *dekh+it*. The origin of *-at* (as in *dekh-at*) and *-it* (as in *dekhit*) is the ‘*śatṛ*’-*anta* but the *-at-* form represents the base or nominative and is employed in forming the compound tenses (e.g. *dekh-at rahī*, etc.) while *-it* evidently owes its vowel *-i* on account of the epenthesis of the locative form of *Apabhraṃśa* and is employed in forming the past conjunctive base in Bhojpuri. It should also be noted in this connection that the usual transformation of ‘*śatṛ*’ in Bengālī is *-it*.

§586. The terminations are added to this base *dekhit*. These terminations or affixes for the first, second and third persons masculine and feminine, singular and plural are in a line with those of the simple past and these have already been explained.

(d) Dialectical Present or Agglutinated Present in -lā

§587. The *-lā* present is a characteristic of the western Bhojpuri dialects of Banāras and Azamgarh, e.g.

ham dekhilā, I see.

Numerous instances of this -lā present are found in 'Badmās Darpana' (a collection of songs in the dialect of Banāras city published at Banāras, in 1889) by Tegh Ali, e.g.

bhaū cumi (lelā) kehu sunnar je (pāilā).
ham ta u haī je oṭh par tarwāri (uṭhāilā).
ham unse puchāl je ākh me surmā kāhe bade (lagāilā).
ta u hāsi ke kahalaī je churi patthal par (caṭāilā).

'I kiss the brow, when I find a beautiful one. I am that man who holds the sword on the lip. (When) I asked him "Why do you apply collyrium in your eyes?" Then he said smilingly, "I whet the knife on the stone."'

§588. This -lā present appears to be connected with the -l future so characteristic of Marāṭhī (e.g. 'to kareḷ', he will do). This is also found in Bhlī and in Mārwarī as well as in Jaipuri among the Rājasthānī dialects and also in Nepālī, Garhwālī and Kumāūnī. The pleonastic affix -lā with verb is also found in the early middle Bengālī (e.g. 'Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana': *kārihālī*, you will do; *dihālī*, you will give, etc.) (ODBL, §728).

Bloch in his book 'Langue Marathe', §242, derives this -la future, which is evidently identical with the Bhojpuri present, from a root -lā in Sanskrit meaning 'to take' whence an adjectival form *lāta* with -ta- affix gave this affix of NIA. But it seems, it would be equally permissible to connect this -lā or *la* as a particle derived ultimately from root $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$ in Sanskrit, meaning 'to touch' or 'to get attached'. We have in Bhojpuri and in other speeches, the postposition 'lāgi' from the above root. From the past participle **lagita-*, we can have *lāla* which as an unaccented final particle can give Bhojpuri -lā. This began to be attached with the radical tense (old present) to indicate an emphatic present. This appears to be the origin of this form.

The Substantive Verb

§589. As indicated previously, the substantive verbs are employed in the formation of compound tenses; these are discussed here. There are only three roots which express the substantive idea in modern Bhojpuri: *ha*, *ho*, *rah* and *bāṭ*. Bengālī possesses two more roots *āch* (Assamese also possesses *āch* and Oriyā *āch*) and *thāk* in addition to the above three and Maithilī has *ch-* and *thik*; of these Magahī does not have *ach* or *ch* any more, although *thik* is found there.

§590. The root *ach* or *āch* which is so important in modern Maithilī and Bengālī existed in old Bhojpuri and Kōsālī though used probably in a restricted sense. (The root -*āch* is found in the old Kōsālī of 'Uktivyakti-prakaraṇam', pp. 10, 11.) Bhojpuri postpositional form *achaīṭ* and early Kōsālī *achai* (as in 'Ramacarita Mānasa') corroborate the above statement. Dr. Chatterji has given in ODBL, p. 167, an early use of this verb root by Kabīr: *achalaū mana bājīrāgi*, I was a 'bairāgi' in (my) mind (quoted by Jānendramōhan Dās, in his 'Bengālī Dictionary', Calcutta, Śan, 1323, under *āch*). This root is also found in Gujrātī as much as in Bengālī and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects. Further, it occurs also in the Pahārī speeches. In Marāṭhī it is common as *aṇṇē* (with change of *ch* to *s*).

§591. Prof. Turner derives it from OIA *ākṣeti* which became in MIA **accheti*, *acchai* and finally in NIA *āche*, *achai*, *che*, *chai*, etc., but

Dr. Chatterji derives it from the IE. \sqrt{es} + the vikarana *-ske* > *ccha* in OIA. Thus IE. **es-ske-ti* > **acchati* in OIA and early MIA and then *acchai* in late MIA and finally this gave NIA *āche*.

§592. Root—*ha, ho*. This is apparently a single root in many NIA speeches (e.g. modern Bengālī) but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being \sqrt{ah} or $\sqrt{hā}$ from OIA \sqrt{as} , the other $\sqrt{hō}$ from OIA $\sqrt{bhū}$. This distinction between these two roots like Magahī (e.g. *hal, halai* < $\sqrt{hā}$ and *hōl, bhel* < $\sqrt{hō}$, *bha* = *bhū*) is also found in Bhojpurī where we find *hai* < $\sqrt{hā}$ < \sqrt{as} and *bhai* < $\sqrt{bhū}$.

§593. The substantive verb *hai* has become somewhat archaic in the standard Bhojpurī of Balliā and Shahābād in the formation of present progressive tense and its place has been taken by the substantive *bāni* and *āni*. An emphatic form of *hai* is *hauī* and the latter is, however, used in the standard Bhojpurī. The tense-forms of *hai* in the western Bhojpurī of Azamgarh are given below:—

1st person		Sg. <i>haman</i>	<i>hai</i>
1st	„	Pl. <i>hamahan</i>	<i>hai</i>
2nd	„ Contemptuous	Sg. <i>taī</i>	<i>hauē</i>
2nd	„ „	Pl. <i>tonahan</i>	<i>hauā</i>
2nd	„ Ordinary	Sg. <i>tu</i>	<i>hauā</i>
2nd	„ „	Pl. <i>tu log</i>	<i>hauā</i>
2nd	„ Honorific	Sg. <i>apane</i>	<i>hauī</i>
2nd	„ „	Pl. <i>apane sabh</i>	<i>hauī</i>
3rd	„ Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u</i>	<i>hao</i>
3rd	„ „	Pl. <i>unahan</i>	<i>hauē</i>
3rd	„ Ordinary	Sg. <i>u</i>	<i>hauē</i>
3rd	„ „	Pl. <i>u log</i>	<i>hauē</i>
3rd	„ Honorific	Sg.	<i>hauī</i>
3rd	„ „	Pl.	<i>hauī</i>

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>hauī</i>
2nd	„ Ordinary	Sg. <i>hayū</i>
2nd	„ „	Pl. <i>hayū</i>
3rd	„ „	Sg. <i>hauī</i>
3rd	„ „	Pl. <i>hauī</i>

§594. The following are the forms of the emphatic verb *hauī* which is used in the standard Bhojpuri. This is used by itself (e.g. *ham hauī*, it is I am; *tū hauā*, it is you are, etc.) and is not employed in the formation of the present progressive tense, its place being taken by the popular substantive *bānī* and *ānī*.

1st person		Sg. <i>ham hauī</i>
1st	"	Pl. <i>haman(i)kā hauī-jā</i> .
3rd	"	Contemptuous Sg. <i>u hawe</i>
3rd	"	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā hawe, haue-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.</i>

The forms of second person (contemptuous, ordinary and honorific) and third person (ordinary and honorific) singular and plural are the same as those of the western Bhojpuri given above.

§595. The substantive verb roots *ho* and *hokh*, to become, are employed in the formation of the present progressive conjunctive in the standard Bhojpuri. It is difficult to give the derivation of root *hokh*. The suggestion that *hokh* = *ho* + *kho* where *ho* comes from $\sqrt{bhū}$ and *kho* is a particle from OIA *khalu* > MIA (Pāli) *kho* is not tenable because *-kho* becomes *hu* in late MIA.

§596. The defective Bhojpuri negative verb *naikhe* (*na* + *khe*) also possesses this *khe*. Is it possible to derive *kho*, *khe* from OIA *akṣeti*? It is difficult to say because the verb *akṣeti* was not a popular root in OIA.

§597. The following are the tense-forms of *ho*, *hokh* in the standard Bhojpuri:—

1st person		Sg. <i>ham hoī, hokhī</i> .
1st	"	Pl. <i>haman(i)kā hoījā, hokhījā</i> .
2nd	"	Contemptuous Sg. <i>tē hokhu</i> .
2nd	"	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā hokha-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.</i>
2nd	"	Ordinary Sg. <i>tu hokhā</i> .
2nd	"	Pl. <i>tohanlōg hokhā</i> .
2nd	"	Honorific Sg. <i>rauā hoī, hokhī</i> .
2nd	"	Pl. <i>rauā sab hoī, hokhī</i> .
3rd	"	Contemptuous Sg. <i>u ho, hokhe</i> .
3rd	"	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā hokha-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.</i>
3rd	"	Ordinary Sg. <i>u hokhasu</i> .
3rd	"	Pl. <i>u lōg ho, hokho, hokhe</i> .
3rd	"	Honorific Sg. <i>uhākā hoī, hokhī</i> .
3rd	"	Pl. <i>uhā sabh kā hoī, hokhī</i> .

§598. The affixes of all the persons are in a line with those of radical tense and these have already been explained.

§599. The substantive verb 'ho' has sometimes tense-forms in the past and in the future (*hoitī*, *hoibi*, etc.); but in the modern standard Bhojpuri, it is being replaced by the substantive verb *rah*. The verb *ho* is, however, conjugated like 'rah' in the past and in the future.

§600. The root *rah*, to remain, to continue, to be, is a regular verb in Bhojpuri and Bengālī and is also used as a substantive verb. It occurs

in other NIA : Marāṭhī : *rahāñē*, *rāhñē*; Gujrātī : *rahevū*; Sindhī : *rahaṇu*; Panjābī : *rahiṇā*; W.H. : *rahnā*; Kōśalī : *rahab*. It is also found in the Dardic Kāśmīrī.

§601. The derivation of this root is obscure. It is found in Pāli as $\sqrt{\text{araha}}$ - and figures in 'Jain Texts' also. Dr. Chatterji has discussed this root in details (see ODBL, §768).

§602. The root *rah* as a regular as well as a substantive verb is conjugated like the simple past base in -l in the past tense and like the simple future in the future tense. The following are its tense-forms in the past tense:—

1st person		Sg. ham rahalī.
1st "		Pl. haman(i)kā rahalī-jā.
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. tē rahalē.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahala-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tu rahalā.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)log rahalā.
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. rauā rahalī.
2nd "	"	Pl. rauā sabh rahalī.
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. u rahal, rahalasi.
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā rahale-sanhi, -san, -sū, -sa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. u rahalē.
3rd "	"	Pl. u lōg rahal.
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. uhā kā rahalī.
3rd "	"	Pl. uhā sabh kā rahalī.

The following tense-forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahalu-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tū rahalu.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)log rahalu.
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. u rahali, rahalasi.
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā rahalī-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. u rahalī.

§603. The following are the forms of the root *rah* in the future tense where the base becomes *rahāb* and the affixes or terminations are added to it:—

1st person		Sg. ham rahabi.
1st "		Pl. haman(i)kā rahabi-jā.
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. tē rahabe.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahaba-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tū rahabā.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)log rahabā.
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. rauā rahabi.
2nd "	"	Pl. rauā sabh rahabi.
3rd "	"	Sg. uhā kā rahabi.
3rd "	"	Pl. uhā sabhkā rahabi.

§604. The third person contemptuous and ordinary (singular, plural) have the s>h- future forms as follows :—

3rd person Contemptuous	Sg. u rahī.
3rd " "	Pl. unhan(i)kā rahihē-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd " Ordinary	Sg. u rahihē.
3rd " "	Pl. u lōg rahī.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only :—

2nd person Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahabu-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd " Ordinary	Sg. tū rahabū.
2nd " "	Pl. tohan(i)lōg rahabū.

§605. The root *rah* is also employed in the formation of the *Past Progressive Conjective*. Then the base becomes *rahit* like *dekhīt* of the past conjunctive and the affixes which are added to *dekhīt* are also added to *rahit*. The following are its tense-forms :—

1st person	Sg. ham rahitī.
1st "	Pl. haman(i)kā rahitī-jā.
2nd " Contemptuous	Sg. tē rahitē.
2nd " "	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahita-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd " Ordinary	Sg. tū rahitā.
2nd " "	Pl. tohan(i)lōg rahitā.
2nd " Honorific	Sg. rauā rahitī.
2nd " "	Pl. rauā sabh rahitī.
3rd " Continuous	Sg. u rahit.
3rd " "	Pl. unhan(i)kā rahite-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd " Ordinary	Sg. u rahit.
3rd " "	Pl. u lōg rahit.
3rd " Honorific	Sg. uhākā rahitī.
3rd " "	Pl. uhā sabhkā rahitī.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only :—

2nd person Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā rahitu-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd " Ordinary	Sg. tū rahitū.
2nd " "	Pl. tūlōg rahitū.
3rd " Contemptuous	Sg. u rahiti.
3rd " "	Pl. unhan(i)kā rahiti-sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd " Ordinary	Sg. u rahitī.

§606. The root *bāṭ*: It is also a substantive verb and is used in the western Bhojpuri of Banāras and Āzamgarh as well as in the northern standard Bhojpuri of Gorakhpur in the present tense only. It also helps in the formation of progressive tenses (*ham bāṭī*, I am; *tu bāṭa*, you are, etc. and *ham dekhat bāṭī*, I see or I am seeing, etc.). The root *bāṭ* as a substantive verb is found in Bengālī in the third person present only. In Oṛiyā, the counterpart of *bāṭ* is *āṭ* and is a defective verb.

In the modern standard Bhojpuri this root is used in the present tense (simple present, present progressive, present conjunctive and present

perfect) only and is changed into *bānī* and in its short form *-ānī*. The short forms *-ānī*, *-ānī jā*, *-āra*, *-āre*, *-ā*, etc. are used in the present progressive tense only.

§607. The source of this root is OIA *vṛt* which becomes *vartate* > *vaffati* > *vaffai* > *bāfai* > *bāre* > *bā*. This *bāre* > **uīre* > *āre* also and in the first person plural *bāre* > *bārī* > *bānī*. The forms *-ānī* and *-ānī-jā*, etc. are the short forms of *bānī*, etc.

§608. The following are the tense-forms of the root in the standard Bhojpuri:—

1st person		Sg. ham <i>bānī</i> , <i>ānī</i> .
1st "		Pl. haman(i)kā <i>bānī</i> , <i>ānījā</i> .
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>tē bāre</i> , <i>-āre</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā <i>bāra</i> , <i>-āra</i> , <i>-sanhi</i> , <i>-san</i> , <i>-sā</i> , <i>-sa</i> .
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tū bārā</i> , <i>-ārā</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)lōg <i>bārā</i> , <i>-ārā</i> .
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>rauā bānī</i> , <i>-ānī</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>rauāsabh bānī</i> , <i>-ānī</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u bāṛe</i> , <i>bā</i> , <i>ā</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā <i>bāre</i> , <i>-āre</i> , <i>-sanhi</i> , <i>-san</i> , <i>-sā</i> , <i>-sa</i> .
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>u bāṛe</i> , <i>āre</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>ulōg bā</i> , <i>ā</i> .
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>uhā kā bānī</i> , <i>ānī</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>uhā sabhkā bānī</i> , <i>ānī</i> .

The following tense-forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kā <i>bārū</i> , <i>-ārū</i> , <i>-sanhi</i> , <i>-san</i> , <i>-sā</i> , <i>-sa</i> .
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tu bārū</i> , <i>-ārū</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)lōg <i>bārū</i> , <i>-ārū</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u biā</i> , <i>iā</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā <i>bārī</i> , <i>-ārī</i> , <i>-sanhi</i> , <i>-san</i> , <i>-sā</i> , <i>-sa</i> .
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>u bārī</i> , <i>ārī</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>ulog bā</i> , <i>ā</i> .

§609. The root '*naikh*', not to be, is a negative defective auxiliary verb and is employed in the formation of present progressive and present perfect (negative) only. This root is found in the standard Bhojpuri only and is a well-marked characteristic of it. Its origin has already been discussed. The following are its forms:—

1st person		Sg. ham <i>naikhī</i> .
1st "		Pl. haman(i)kā <i>naikhī-jā</i> .
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>tē naikhē</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā <i>naikha</i> - <i>sanhi</i> , <i>-san</i> , <i>-sā</i> , <i>-sa</i> .
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tu naikhā</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)lōg <i>naikhā</i> .
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>rauā naikhī</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>rauā sabh naikhī</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>u naikhē</i> .

3rd person Contemptuous Pl. unhan(i)kā naikh-asanhi, -san, -sā,
-sa.

3rd „ Ordinary Sg. u naikhani, naikhanihi.

3rd „ „ Pl. u lōg naikhē.

3rd „ Honorific Sg. uhākā naikhī.

3rd „ „ Pl. uhā sabhkā naikhī.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only :—

2nd person Ordinary Sg. tu naikhu.

2nd „ „ Pl. tohan(i)lōg naikhu.

3rd „ Contemptuous Pl. unhan(i)kā naikhī-sanhi, -san, -sā,
-sa.

(II) COMPOUND OR PERIPHRASTIC TENSES

(a) *Progressive Tenses*

§610. Compared with the Simple and Perfect Tenses, these lay special emphasis on the continuity and incompletion of an action—Present, Past or Future. These are given below:

(i) Present

(α) Present Progressive (Positive) with *bānī*

§611. The Present Progressive (positive) in the standard Bhojpuri is made with the help of verbal form -at+the substantive verb *bār*. The full conjugation of root *vṛt* (> *bāṭ*) in the St. Bhoj. has been given previously. The verbal form with -at (e.g. *dekhat*) remains constant.

§612. In the western Bhojpuri of Banāras and Āzamgarh and in the northern standard Bhojpuri of Gorakhpur, the form with -at+ *bāṭ* (*dekhat* + *bāṭ*) is used and the affixes are added to the substantive *bāṭ*.

§613. This tense refers to an action which is taking place in the present and has displaced the present indicative. It also refers to a future action about to take place, e.g. *ē bārī kalkattā kē jāī*, who will go to Calcutta this time ?; *ē bārī ham nu jāt-bānī* or *jāt-ānī*, this time I am going.

(β) Present Progressive (Negative) with *naikhī*

§614. The present progressive (negative) in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form -at+the negative substantive verb *naikh*. The full conjugation of root *naikh* in the St. Bhoj. has been given previously. The verbal form with -at (e.g. *dekhat*) remains constant.

(ii) Past Progressive

§615. The past progressive tense in the standard Bhojpuri is made with the help of verbal form -at+the tense-forms of the root *rah* in the simple past with -l. The full conjugation of the root *rah* in the simple past with -l (*rahālī*, *rahālī-jā*, etc.) has been given previously. The verbal form in -at (*dekhat*) remains constant.

(iii) Future Progressive

§616. The future progressive in the standard Bhojpuri is made with the help of verbal form *-at+* the tense-forms of *rah* in the simple future with *-b* and *s > h*. The full conjugation of the root *rah* in the future tense (*rahābī*, *rahābī jā*, etc.) has been given previously. The verbal form in *-at* (*dekhat*) remains constant.

(b) Conjunctive Tenses

(i) Present Progressive Conjunctive

§617. The present progressive conjunctive in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form *-at+* the tense-forms of the substantive verb *ho*. The full conjugation of the root *ho* (*hoī*, *hokhī*, *hoī jā*, *hokhī jā*, etc.) has been given already. The verbal form in *-at* (*dekhat*) remains unchanged.

§618. This tense refers to a continuous conditional action present, probable or improbable, e.g. *jō ham tohārā ke dhōkhā dēt hoī* or *hōkhī ta marī jāī*, I may die if I am (or were) deceiving you.

(ii) Past Progressive Conjunctive

§619. The past progressive conjunctive in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form *-at+* the conjunctive tense-forms of verb *rah*. The full conjugation of the root *rah* in the conjunctive (*rahītī*, *rahītī jā*, etc.) has already been given. The verbal form in *-at* (*dekhat*) remains unchanged.

§620. This tense refers to a continuous action in the past which might have happened but which did not happen, e.g. *jō ham unukā ke oh gharī dēkhat rahītī ta tohārā se jarūr kahālē rahītī*, if I had been seeing him at that time then I would have told you.

(iii) Future Progressive Conjunctive

§621. The future progressive conjunctive in the St. Bhoj. is made by adding *jō*, if, to the future progressive.

§622. This tense refers to a conditional progressive action in the future, e.g. *jō ham khāt rahābī ta tohārō ke debl*, if I shall be eating, I shall give you also. This tense is not a popular one and is used by educated persons only. The uneducated and common people will use only simple future for it, e.g. *jō ham khābī ta tohārō ke debl*, if I eat (lit. I shall eat), I shall give you also.

(c) Perfect Tenses

§623. These lay emphasis on the completion of an action, whether it be in the present, past or future, having special reference to the effect of that action at the time of speaking or at the time referred to in the speech. These are formed with the help of the perfect participle in *-al* (*dekhal*). In fact this *-al* (*dekhal*) becomes *-ale* (*dekhale*) when the substantive verbs are joined with it. This 'e' is of locative origin for the passive participle *dekhal*. Thus the locative passive form **dekkhallahi* would give *dekhale* in modern standard Bhojpuri.

§624. In the intransitive verb, this *-al* form which is really an adjective qualifying the subject, the locative is not formed. Thus we have

tense-forms—**ham calal bānī**, I have walked; **ham sutal rahālī**, I had slept. But owing to the fact that the transitive forms are more popular, the locative 'e' is sometimes extended to the intransitive verbs also and we hear **calale rahālī**, I had walked. But such usages are not regarded to be proper and correct in the standard Bhojpuri.

(i) Present

(α) Present Perfect (positive) with -bānī, -ānī

§625. The present perfect tense (positive) in the standard Bhojpuri is made with the help of verbal form **-ale**+the substantive verb **-bānī, -ānī**. The full conjugation of the root $\sqrt{\text{vrt}}$ (> **bānī, ānī**, etc.) in the St. Bhoj. has already been given. The verbal form with **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains unchanged.

§626. The difference between this tense and the simple past tense is that this refers to an action the effect of which lasts up to the present while the simple past refers to an action which has no effect at present, e.g. **ham miṭhāi khaile bānī**, I have taken sweetmeats, i.e. the sweetmeats are still in my belly; while **ham miṭhāi khaīlī**, I took sweetmeats, refers to the momentary action in the past.

Compared with the past perfect, this tense refers to the recent past while the past perfect to the remote past, e.g. **ham u ghar dekhale bānī**, I have seen that house, refers to nearer past than that referred to in '**ham u ghar dekhale rahālī**', I had seen that house.

(β) Present Perfect (negative) with -naikhi

§627. The present perfect (negative) in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form **-ale**+the negative substantive verb **naikh**. The full conjugation of **naikh** in the St. Bhoj. has already been given. The verbal form with **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains unchanged, e.g. **ham dekhale naikhi**, I have not seen, etc.

(ii) Past Perfect

§628. The past perfect tense in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form in **-ale**+the tense-forms of the root **rah** in the simple past with **-l**. The full conjugation of the root **rah** in the simple past with **-l** (**rahālī, rahālī-jā**, etc.) has been given previously. The verbal form in **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains constant.

§629. The difference between this tense and the simple past is that while the effect of the action denoted by the latter does not last beyond the time, when the action took place, that of the past perfect lasts. Moreover the simple past refers to nearer past time than the past perfect does, e.g. **ham ghare gaīlī**, I went home, and '**ham ghare gaīl rahālī**', I had gone home.

Note.—The English past perfect (e.g. I had gone) requires comparison with another past verb, but here it is not necessary.

(iii) Future Perfect

§630. The future perfect in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form in **-ale**+the tense-forms of the verb root **rah** in the simple

future with **-b** and $s > h$. The full conjugation of the root **rah** in the future tense (**rahabi**, **rahabi jā**, etc.) has already been given. The verbal form **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains unchanged.

§631. This tense refers to an action which will be necessarily completed by some particular time in the future, e.g. **jabāle tū hamarā kihā aibā tabāle ham khet boāle rahabi**, I shall have sown the field when you come to my place.

(d) Perfect Conjunctive

(i) Present Perfect Conjunctive

§632. The present perfect conjunctive in the St. Bhoj. is made with the help of verbal form in **-ale** + the tense-forms of the substantive verb root **ho**. The full conjugation of the root **ho** (**hoī hokhī**, **hoī-jā**, **hokhī-jā**, etc.) has already been given. The verbal formation in **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains unchanged.

§633. This tense refers to a conditional action, completed in the past, e.g. **jō tu dekhale hokhā ta hamārā se kahā**, if you have seen tell me; **jō ham burā kām kaile hokhī ta isar sajāl desu**, if I have done bad deeds let God inflict punishment on me.

(ii) Past Perfect Conjunctive

§634. The past perfect conjunctive in the St. Bhojpuri is made with the help of verbal form in **-ale** + the conjunctive tense-forms of verb **rah** in the conjunctive (**rahitī**, **rahitī jā**, etc.) has already been given. The verbal form in **-ale** (**dekhale**) remains unchanged.

§635. This tense refers to a conditional completed action in the past which did not occur, e.g. **jō ham chuṭī mē kulhi kitāb paṛhale rahitī ta āju arām karat rahitī**, if I had finished reading all the books during the vacations, I should have been enjoying the day.

(iii) Future Perfect Conjunctive

§636. The future perfect conjunctive in the St. Bhojpuri is made by adding **jō**, if, to the future perfect.

§637. This tense refers to a conditional action which will be completed in the future, e.g. **jō ham dekhale rahabi ta tohārā se kahabi**, if I shall have seen, I shall inform you.

Conjugation of Vocalic Roots

§638. Many verbs have roots ending in vowels and the junction of the root with the terminations frequently causes some slight apparent irregularity. These are discussed below.

§639. Roots ending in **-ā** are conjugated like $\sqrt{\text{dekh}}$ except in the following points:—

(a) In the past tense, these verbs insert a euphonic vowel **ya(i)**, **wa(u)** ('*y-śruti*' and '*wa-śruti*') between the root and **-l** of the termination. Thus root **khā**, to eat, in the first person past tense will first become ***khā+y(i)+l+l** and then, after '*saṁprasāraṇa*', it will become **khayalī** in the western Bhojpuri of Banāras and Azamgarh and **khallī** in the St. Bhoj. of Balliā and Shāhābad. Similarly root **pā**, to get, will

become *pā+wa+l+ī and pawalī after 'saṃprasāraṇa' in the St. Bhoj. In Sāran, this wa- is weakened to -u and therefore we get the form paūlī.

The following rules show when ya(i) and when -wa-(u) are the euphonic vowels:—

- (i) All transitive (including causal) verbs take -wa-(u), e.g. pā, to get, pa-wa-lī (paulī), I got; caṛhā, caṛhawalī (caṛha-ulī), I caused to ascend.

Exception: The root khā, to eat, always takes 'y'(i). Thus khaīlī, I ate.

- (ii) All neuter or intransitive verbs take -y(i). Thus, from √aghā; aghaīlī, I was satisfied; √ā; aīlī, I came.

(b) In the future tense, first person singular and plural as well as second person and third person honorific singular and plural, however, we get the root in ā (pā, ā, aghā, etc.)+ib, b- future as the basic form and the affixes are added to them. Thus we get forms: pāibi, āibi, aghāibi. The reason is probably this that 'saṃprasāraṇa' i, u are preserved and the vowel retains its long quantity because the future in -b was of later origin than the past in -l.

§640. In early Kośalī of UVP we get only s > h- future, e.g. deva-datta kaṭa kariha = *devadattaḥ katham kariṣyati?* what will Devadatta do? UVP, p. 9, but in the Kośalī of 'Rāma Carita Mānasa' we have the forms like āub, will come, and in modern Kośalī of Allāhābād, we get forms like jāb, will go, and khāb, will eat (instead of jāub, khāub), etc. This, too, shows that the -b- future is of later origin than of s > h- future.

Roots ending in i

√pī, drink

§641. The infinitive from the above root is piyal, pīal and then it is conjugated like base dekhāl. The long pī is shortened when the terminations for the past and future are added. In the 'Present Conditional', a euphonic -h- comes between the root and termination (e.g. pī+ī > pī+h+ī). The present participle has forms with -at and -it (pī-at and pī-h-it), but the -it- form is more popular in the modern St. Bhoj.

All the roots ending in -ī are conjugated like pī.

Roots ending in 'ū'

cū, to drip

§642. The infinitive is cūal and then it is conjugated like base dekhāl. The long cū is shortened when the terminations are added. The present conditional is quite regular (cū-ī, cū-ī-jā, etc.). The present participle has forms with -it (cuīt) but we have this participle in -at (cuat) also dialectically.

All the roots ending in -ū are conjugated like cū.

Roots ending in ō

√rō, to weep

§643. The infinitive is rōal and then it is conjugated like base dekhāl. The long ō > o, when the terminations are added. The Present Condi-

tional is quite regular (*rōī*, *rōī-jā*, etc.). The present participle in modern St. Bhoj. ends in *-it* (*rōit*) but we have this participle in *-at* (*rōat*) also dialectically.

All the roots ending in *-ō* are conjugated like *rō*.

Irregular Verbs

§644. The following verbs are irregular only in their past tense:— $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, do; $\sqrt{\text{dhar}}$, seize or place; $\sqrt{\text{ho}}$, become; and $\sqrt{\text{jā}}$, go. Their conjugation is therefore given in that tense only.

The conjugation of $\sqrt{\text{ho}}$ has already been given and therefore it is not given here.

§645. The verbs $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$, die; $\sqrt{\text{de}}$, give; and $\sqrt{\text{le}}$, take, are more or less irregular in all the tenses, especially in the past and in the present conditional. The verbs $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{de}}$, therefore, will be conjugated throughout the radical and participial tenses. The verb $\sqrt{\text{le}}$ is precisely conjugated like the verb $\sqrt{\text{de}}$.

§646. It should be observed that in the radical tense all these verbs are quite regular (e.g. *karī*, *dharī*, *hoī*, *jāī*, *marī*, *deī*, *leī*, etc.). The dialectical present indicative in *lā* is also regular (1st per. *karilā*, I do; *jāilā*, I go; *deilā*, I give; etc. and 3rd sing. *karelā*, he does; *jālā*, he goes; and *āwelā*, he comes).

§647. It has already been noticed that the present in *lā* has become archaic in the St. Bhoj. but the third person singular forms *karelā*, he does; *jālā*, he goes; *āwelā*, he comes are still prevalent in the St. Bhoj. though with a slight change in meaning. In fact these forms mean 'he is in the habit of doing', 'he is in the habit of going' and 'he is in the habit of coming', etc.

§648. $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, do; $\sqrt{\text{dhar}}$, place, seize.

Infinitive:—old—*kaīl* and *dhaīl*.

recent—*karal* and *dharal*.

The origin of *kaīl* is *kṛta* > **kaa+ala* > **kaa-ya-ala* > *kaīl* while *kar-al* and *dharal* are = *kar-al*, *dhar-al*.

In the present and the future tenses the roots *kar* and *dhar* are regular and are conjugated like *dekh*, see, but in the past these are irregular.

§649. Past Tense. Old Bhojpuri forms.

Indicative Mood

Person	$\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ Past Tense		$\sqrt{\text{dhar}}$ Past Tense	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st ..	<i>kaīlō</i>	<i>kaīlī</i>	<i>dhaīlō</i>	<i>dhaīlī</i>
2nd ..	<i>kaīḷe</i>	<i>kaīlā</i>	<i>dhaīḷe</i>	<i>dhaīlā</i>
3rd ..	<i>kaīlas</i>	<i>kaīlan</i>	<i>dhaīlas</i>	<i>dhaīlan</i>

§650. The following tense-forms are found in the modern St. Bhojpuri in the past tense:—

1st person		Sg. ham kaĩĩ, dhaĩĩ.
1st "		Pl. haman(i)kã kaĩĩ-jã, dhaĩĩ-jã.
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. tẽ kaĩle, dhaĩle.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)kã kaĩla, dhaĩla, -sanhi, -san, -sã, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tu kaĩlã, dhaĩlã.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)log kaĩlã, dhaĩlã.
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. rauã kaĩĩ, dhaĩĩ.
2nd "	"	Pl. rauã sabh kaĩĩ, dhaĩĩ.
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. u kaĩlasi, dhaĩlasi.
3rd "	"	Pl. unhan(i)kã kaĩle, dhaĩle, -sanhi, -san, -sã, -sa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. u kaĩle, dhaĩle.
3rd "	"	Pl. u lõg kaĩl, dhaĩl.
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. uhãkã kaĩĩ, dhaĩĩ.
3rd "	"	Pl. uhã sabh kã kaĩĩ, dhaĩĩ.

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. tohan(i)kã kaĩlu-sanhi, -san, -sã, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. tu kaĩlũ.
2nd "	"	Pl. tohan(i)lõg kaĩlũ.
3rd "	Contemptuous	Pl. unhan(i)kã kaĩli-sanhi, -san, -sã, -sa.

§651. $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$, die.

Infinitives:—old, mual
recent, maral

In modern St. Bhoj. the base mual is conjugated like *dekhal*, saw, in the past and *dekhab*, will see, in the future tenses.

§652. In the present conditional, it is conjugated like root *ho*, to be (*muĩ*, *muĩ-jã*, etc.) and in the past conditional like *dekhĩ* (*muĩĩ*, *muĩĩ-jã*, etc.).

Sometimes in modern Bhojpuri in the third person singular past we find: *u maral*, he died. This is a later formation.

§653. In old Bhojpuri, we find for the first person singular past tense: *mualõ*, and for the first person singular future: *marabõ*, etc.

Besides above we have numerous dialectical forms for the present and past conditional, e.g. first person present: *muõ*; and past conditional: *muatõ*, etc.

§654. $\sqrt{\text{jã}}$, go.

There are two OIA roots combined $\sqrt{\text{ya}}$, to go, and $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$, to go. The conjugation of *jã* can be compared with the root *ã*, come. The infinitive in the modern St. Bhoj. is *ãĩl*, *jãĩl* and *gaĩl*. Before the termination is added the basic form will become *ãĩ* and *gaĩ* in the past tense in the modern Bhojpuri and then these will be conjugated like *dekhal* in the past tense.

§655. In the future tense the base will become *āib* and *jāib* and the following will be the tense-forms:—

1st person		Sg. <i>āibi</i> , <i>jāibi</i> .
1st "		Pl. <i>āibi-jā</i> , <i>jāibi-jā</i> .
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>aibe</i> , <i>jaibe</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>aiba</i> , <i>jaiba</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>aibā</i> , <i>jaibā</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>aibā</i> , <i>jaibā</i> .
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>āibi</i> , <i>jāibi</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>āibi</i> , <i>jāibi</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>āi</i> , <i>jāi</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>aibē</i> , <i>jaibē</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>aihē</i> , <i>jaihē</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>āi</i> , <i>jāi</i> .
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>āibi</i> , <i>jāibi</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>āibi</i> , <i>jāibi</i> .

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā</i> : <i>aibu</i> , <i>jaibu</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tu aibu</i> , <i>jaibu</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>tohan(i)lōg aibu</i> , <i>jaibu</i> .
3rd person	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā aīhe</i> , <i>jaīhe</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.

§656. The tense-forms of the present conjunctive is made with the help of verbal form (*āit*, *jāit*) plus the affixes, e.g.

1st person		Sg. <i>āitī</i> , <i>jaitī</i> .
1st "		Pl. <i>āitī jā</i> , <i>jaitī jā</i> .
2nd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>aite</i> , <i>jaite</i> ,
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>aīta</i> , <i>jaīta</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>aītā</i> , <i>jaītā</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>aītā</i> , <i>jaītā</i> .
2nd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>āitī</i> , <i>jaitī</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>āitī</i> , <i>jaitī</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Sg. <i>āit</i> , <i>jāit</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>aīte</i> , <i>jaīte</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>aīte</i> , <i>jaīte</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>āit</i> , <i>jāit</i> .
3rd "	Honorific	Sg. <i>āitī</i> , <i>jaitī</i> .
3rd "	"	Pl. <i>āitī</i> , <i>jaitī</i> .

The following forms are found in the feminine gender only:—

2nd person	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>tohan(i)kā aītu</i> , <i>jaītu</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd "	Ordinary	Sg. <i>tu aītu</i> , <i>jaītu</i> .
2nd "	"	Pl. <i>tohan(i)lōg aītu</i> , <i>jaītu</i> .
3rd "	Contemptuous	Pl. <i>unhan(i)kā aīti</i> , <i>jaīti</i> , -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.

√*de*, give

§657. The infinitive *dīhal* becomes the base for the conjugation in the past tense and then it is conjugated like the regular base *dekhaī*.

§658. In the future tense, the base for conjugation, however, becomes *deb* and then the affixes are added to make the tense-forms for the future. The only exception is *s > h-* future which is irregular and these forms are given below:—

3rd person	Contemptuous	Sg. u dīhī, dēī.
3rd	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā dīhē, -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd	Ordinary	Sg. u dīhē.
3rd	"	Pl. u lōg dīhī, dī.

§659. In the present conditional the tense-forms are somewhat irregular and these are given below:—

1st person		Sg. ham deī, dīhī.
1st	"	Pl. haman(i)kā deī-jā, dīhī-jā.
2nd	Contemptuous	Sg. tē dē.
2nd	"	Pl. tohan(i)kā da, -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
2nd	Ordinary	Sg. tu dā.
2nd	"	Pl. tu log dā.
2nd	Honorific	Sg. rauā deī, dīhī.
2nd	"	Pl. rauā sabh deī, dīhī.
3rd	Contemptuous	Sg. u deu.
3rd	"	Pl. unhan(i)kā da, -sanhi, -san, -sā, -sa.
3rd	Ordinary	Sg. u desu.
3rd	"	Pl. u log deu.
3rd	Honorific	Sg. uhākā deī.
3rd	"	Pl. uhā sabhkā deī.

§660. For the past conditional, the basic verbal form becomes *dihit* and then the affixes are added to this base regularly.

(F) THE PARTICIPLES

(i) The Present Participle

§661. The present participle in the St. Bhoj. is *-at*. In Hindi it is *-atā, -atē, -tā* (in the locative absolute), in Bengālī *-anta, -ite*, in Oṛiyā *-anta* and in Assamese *-ōt*. The unstrengthened *-ata*, in its strengthened form *-atā* (cf. the strengthened Assamese form *-ōtā*) becomes an attributive adjective in Bhojpuri, e.g. *caltā jōgī*, a wandering saint; *bahatā pānī*, the flowing water, but also *calat adimī*, a going man; *uṛat cirai*, a flying bird.

The source of the present participle is OIA and MIA active participle in *-ant*.

(ii) The Past (Passive) Participle

§662. The origin of the past participle in Bhoj. is OIA *-ta + al* and that of the past passive participle is OIA *-ta* fortified by *ā + i*, e.g. *dekhāil*, was seen, *sunāil*, was heard; *piṭhāil*, was beaten; *marāil*, was killed.

The past passive participle in *ā* followed by past participle *gail* appears to be a recent importation from Hindi, e.g. u *piṭhā gail* = Hindi: *wah piṭhā gayā*, he was beaten; u *marā gail* = Hindi: *wah marā gayā*, he was killed.

(G) CONJUNCTIVE

§663. The conjunctive in the modern St. Bhoj. is found in -i strengthened by the dative postposition -ke, e.g. *dekhi ke*, having seen; *sunī ke*, having heard; *paṛhi ke*, having read; etc.

The postposition *ke* is absent in Old Bhoj. specially in poems, e.g.

babuā ke māī baūri
hāri bhari rinheī jaūri
apnē khālī kaṭhawatā mē
babuā ke dēlī kaṭorīā mē,
se (dekhi) babuā rusi calī,
bāp pitiāwā manāwan karī.

(A Nursery Rhyme).

'The mother of the baby is bad. She cooked sweet rice in a cauldron. She herself ate in a tub (lit. in a big wooden plate) while she gave the baby in a cup (lit. in cup-like pot). (Having seen) this, the baby became angry. Then father and uncle began to conciliate him.'

This -i- conjunctive is found in old and middle Bengālī (e.g. *caryā*: (2) *duhi*, having milked; (4) *cāpi*, having pressed; (6) *chāḍi*, giving up; (7) *dekhi*, having seen; *paīsi*, having entered, etc.), and also in Oṛiyā, Assamese, Maithilī and Magahī. In Hindī, however, this -i is absent, e.g. *dekh* instead of *dekhi*, but it is followed by the dative postposition *kar*, *kaj*. In Oṛiyā, the postposition *kar* becomes *kiri* (*dekhikiri*).

§664. The origin of -I is OIA -ya which has become *ia* > *i*. Tessitori derived the Gujrātī conjunctive in -i (as in *cālī-ne*, having walked; *māri-ne*, having struck) from the passive participle in -ia rather than the Apabhraṃśa absolutive in -ī. This is quite likely but OIA *ḍṛkṣya* for *ḍṛṣṭvā* can develop as *dekkhia* > *dekhi* and similarly OIA **cal-ya* > *calia* > *calī*, *calī* > NIA *cali*, *cal* is a perfectly normal development.

(H) CAUSATIVE

§665. A causative in Bhojpurī is generally formed by adding *āw* to a simple root. The stems thus formed are conjugated exactly like verbs whose roots end in *ā*. The source of this *āw* is denominative OIA *āya*, e.g. *baīṭhal*, to sit; *baīṭhāwal*, to seat; *hāsal*, to laugh; *hāśāwal*, to make laugh.

The very common causatives in Hindī *dēnā*, *dilāna*, *pinā*, *pilānā* are not found in Bhojpurī. Even the noun-forms like *dhulāī*, the cost of washing; and *silāī*, the cost of sewing, which have been borrowed in Bengālī from Hindī, have not been adopted in Bhojpurī which uses the native forms *dhoāī* and *siāī*.

§666. Some primitive neuter verbs having a monosyllabic root enclosing a short vowel form the causative by lengthening the vowel, e.g.

Simple Verb	Causal
✓ <i>kaṭ</i> , be cut	<i>kāṭ</i> , cut
✓ <i>banh</i> , be tied	<i>bānh</i> , tie
✓ <i>lad</i> , be loaded	<i>lād</i> , load
✓ <i>ghic</i> , be dragged	<i>ghīc</i> , drag

§667. Sometimes a cognate diphthong is substituted for the long vowel, e.g. *khul*, be opened; *khōl*, open; *ghul* (neut.), melt; *ghōl* (active), melt.

§668. The lengthening in above cases is the result of 'guṇa' and 'vr̥dhi', i.e. 'ablaut' in I.E. Some of these roots have been inherited by NIA from MIA and OIA. Roots with short vowels are intransitive and those with long vowels are transitive, originally causative in OIA, e.g. OIA *marati* for *mṛyate* = *mare*, *mar* in Bengālī and Bhojpurī but *mārayati* > *māre*, *mār-*. Similarly *truṭyati* > MIA *ṭuṭai* > *ṭuṭe*, *ṭuṭ-* but *trōṭayati* > *toṭe*, *tor*, etc.

§669. Sometimes, in the intransitive forms, the original passive also survives, e.g. *kṛtyate* > MIA *kaffiai* > *kaffai* > *kaṭe*, *kaṭ-*, but *kartayati* > MIA *kaffei* > *kāṭe*, *kāṭ-*. Similarly OIA *prasarati* > *pasare*, *pasar-* in NIA (Bhojpurī) but OIA *prasārayati* > *pasāre*, *pasār-*.

§670. This rule, namely short vowel for the intransitive and the long for the transitive, became quite a rule in Bhojpurī so that analogically a number of roots which occurred only in the transitive with a long vowel were given a corresponding short form in the intransitive. Thus root *ghīc*, drag, became *ghīc*, to be dragged; and *pāl*, nourish (< *pālayati*, cf. Hindi *pālāṇā*, nourish) became *palal* (cf. Hindi *pālāṇā*, to be nourished).

§671. It should be noted that there are a good many roots in NIA speeches which cannot be explained by OIA, e.g. Bhojpurī, *ghulal*, to melt; *khālal*, to open; *juṭal*, to unite, etc.

§672. A double causative in Bhojpurī is formed by adding *wāw* to the simple causative. The long *ā* of the simple causative is, however, shortened. Thus *uṭhal*, to get up; *uṭhāwal* (causative), to make get up; *uṭhawāwal* (double causative) instead of *uṭhāwāwal*, to cause to make get up.

§673. The origin of the double causative appears to be OIA denominative *āya*+*āpay* (causative).

§674. If the simple root contains a long vowel in Bhojpurī, it is shortened, e.g.

Simple Verb	Causative	Double Causative
√ <i>pāk</i> , be cooked	<i>pakāw</i>	<i>pakṛwāw</i>
√ <i>jāg</i> , be awake	<i>jagāw</i>	<i>jagṛwāw</i>
√ <i>jīt</i> , conquer	<i>jitāw</i>	<i>jitṛwāw</i>
√ <i>ghum</i> , be turned	<i>ghumāw</i>	<i>ghumṛwāw</i>

§675. The following are irregular:—

Simple Verbs	Causative	Double Causative
<i>aṭ</i> , be stopped	<i>āṭ</i>	<i>aṭāw</i>
<i>phaṭ</i> , be torn	<i>phāṭ</i> , <i>phār</i> , <i>phār</i>	<i>phaṭāw</i> , <i>phaṭṛwāw</i> , <i>pharāwa</i> , <i>pharṛwāw</i>
<i>chuṭ</i> , to be separated	<i>chōṭ</i> , <i>chār</i>	<i>chorāw</i> , <i>chorṛwāw</i>
<i>mar</i> , die	<i>mār</i>	<i>muāw</i> , <i>marṛwāw</i>

§676. Where a double causative exists, the simple one is used generally when the remote agent actively helps the immediate agent to do the action, e.g. *jamunā sahadew ke pānī piāwale*, Jamunā caused Sahadew to drink water (i.e. Jamunā actively helped Sahadew by giving him water); and the double if the remote agent does not actively help but only directs the action to be done, e.g. *jamunā sitārām se sahadew ke pānī piāwawale*, Jamunā directed Sitārām to cause Sahadew to drink water. In other words, while there are only two agents with a simple causative, there are at least three for a double one.

N.B.—The difference between the two causatives is not generally marked. However, either can be used.

(I) DENOMINATIVES

§677. Like Bengālī, in Bhojpurī too, commonly, the noun if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root, e.g. *pākṣ* (*pakva*), *pākā-tā*, is becoming ripe: *cinḥ* (*cihna*), *cinha-tānī*, (I) am recognizing, *cinha-bī*, (I) will recognize; *sukh* (*suskaḥ*), *sukha-tā*, is becoming dry; *sukhal*, became dry; *sukhī*, will become dry; *bhukh* (*bubhukṣā*), *bhukha-tānī*, am fasting; *bhukhabi*, (I) will fast; *tap* (*tapta-*, hot), to have great power and influence; *jam*, gathering (Perso-Arabic *jam* جمع).

§678. The OIA affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where no such affix was used) were *-a-*, *-ya-*, *-ā-ya-*, *-i-ya-*, *-i-y-a-*, *-ū-ya-*, *-u-ya-*, *-s-ya* (*s-ya*). The form *-ā-ya-* resembling the causative affix *-āpaya* seems to have been more commonly employed than the rest in early MIA and consequently the denominatives have often been confused with causatives in many NIA speeches. But the distinction has been preserved in Bihārī languages of the present day (see §551 under Voice). The examples of denominatives in Bhojpurī are: *pitṛā(īl)*, to become like brass (*pīlar*, brass < Sk. Lex. *pittalam*, *pīṭalam* connected with *pīla*, *pīṭal*, yellow); *khaṭā(īl)*, to become sour (Sk. *khaṭṭaḥ*, Pk. *khaṭṭa*); *mīṭhā(īl)*, to become sweet (Sk. *mṛṣṭaḥ*, Pa. *maṭṭho*, Pk. *maṭṭha-*, *mīṭha-*); *kaṣā(īl)*, to become astringent (Sk. *kaṣāyaka*); *piyarā(īl)*, to become yellow (cf. Sk. *pīla*, yellow); *hariarā(īl)*, to become green (cf. Sk. *haritaḥ*, cf. also Bhoj. *harē* and N. *harro*, a kind of tree from which a yellow dye is prepared. For der. see under *harro*, N.D., p. 632); *cokhā(īl)*, to be cured, e.g. *ghāw cokhā gail*, the injury has been cured (Sk. *caukṣaḥ*, *cokṣaḥ*, pure, Pa. Pk. *cokkha-*); *retā(īl)*, to be cut (Bhoj. *rētī*, a file; for der. see N. *retī*¹, *retī*² in N.D., p. 541); *sonhā(īl)*, to become sweet in smell (Sk. *sugandhaḥ*); *jamhā(īl)*, to yawn (*jambha-*); *lalā(īl)*, to become red (Perso-Arabic *lālā* لال), etc.

(J) VERBAL NOUNS

§679. The verbal nouns in Bhojpurī are represented by the following forms:—

- (a) Nouns in *-an* with extension in *-anā*, *nā*, *-ani*, *-ni* (discussed under Formative Affixes). The verbal nouns with above affixes are prominent in all Māgadhan speeches, viz. Maithilī, Magahī, Bengālī and Assamese.

In Hindī *nā* affix (Braja-bhākhā *no*), same as Bhojpurī, Bengālī and Assamese *-anā*, is used as infinitive; also its equivalent *-nā* in Punjābī.

- (b) Nouns in -*g* which is quiescent but traceable in roots ending in a consonant, e.g. Bhoj. *bōl*, speech, sound (cf. early middle Bengālī and old Bengālī *bōlā* < MIA *bōlla*). Similarly *dekḥ*, *mār*, *dhar*, etc. There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by -*i* < -*ia* < -*ikā*. Thus *bōli*, *dekhi*, *māri*, etc.
- (c) Nouns in -*i*, e.g. *dekhi*, *sunī*, *cali*, etc. This also is found in Maithilī (Grierson, Maithilī Grammar, p. 109). In the nominative, when there is no inflection, the final -*i* is practically dropped but in other cases and in compounds, it is retained, e.g. *mār bhañi*, there was beating; but *māri-piñi bhañi*, there was a fight.
- (d) Nouns in -*al* from the passive participle in -*al*. This is very common in Bhojpuri and in its sister speeches Maithilī and Magahī, e.g. *calal* (*calam*+*alla* < *calitam*). Its equivalent in Bengālī and Assamese is -*ilā*.
- (e) Nouns in -*ab*. This is from the same source as the future base. The form occurs in all Māgadhan speeches. In Bengālī, its counterpart is -*ōb*.

§680. The verbal noun in -*ab* is becoming obsolete due to the fact that the future base in -*b* has become more prominent. Probably, it is to avoid this confusion that verbal noun in -*al* has become more popular.

(K) DUPLICATED VERBS

§681. Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bhojpuri to indicate repeated, intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in -*i* or present participle in -*at* used with an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in Bhojpuri: *chui chui*, frequently touching; *kudi kudi*, repeatedly jumping; *nāci nāci*, repeatedly dancing; *calat calat*, continuously walking; *uṛat uṛat*, continuously flying.

Such verb-forms are found in all NIA speeches and its usage goes back even to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them in Sūtra '*nityavīpśayoh*', 8-1-4, showing that in repetition doubled verb-forms are used, e.g. *pacati-pacati*, repeatedly cooking; *bhuktvā-bhuktvā*, repeatedly eating.

§682. There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoeitic Roots', §534). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs' as both the roots take inflections, e.g. *kōṛi-khani*, scooping and digging = digging completely; *dhōi-pōchi*, washing and wiping = making clean completely; *kudi-phāñi*, jumping and leaping = forcibly; *dhañ-bāñhi*, catching and restraining = forcibly; *cali-phiri*, walking and roaming; *likhi-parhi*, writing and reading; *hāñi-bōli*, laughing and speaking; *kuñi-piñi*, pounding and grinding; *chāñhi-bāñhi*, fastening and binding.

§683. There is in Bhojpuri, as in other NIA, a common verbal noun of reciprocity, which may be noted in this connection. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and it is connected by a link vowel -*ā*-, and the second part of this re-duplicated form takes the affix -*i*, e.g. *mārā-māri*, striking each other, fighting; *dekḥā-dekhi*, seeing each other, mutual seeing; *ṭheñā-ṭheñi*, pushing each other; *kāṭā-kāñi*, biting each other;

pherā-phēri, returning each other; **bolā-bōli**, speaking with each other, quarrelling; **lāṭhā-lāṭhi**, fighting each other with sticks; **dhakā-dhuki**, pushing each other; **ghusā-ghusi** or **mukā-muki**, fighting with fist-cuffs; **paṭkā-paṭki**, dashing each other. The nouns can be used adverbially.

(L) COMPOUND VERBS

§684. Modern Indo-Aryan speeches agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connection with a noun or verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of the Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India.

§685. The compound verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. Dr. Chatterji has quoted several examples of such verbs from Caryās (see ODBL, §778).

§686. Types of the Compound Verb in Bhojpuri.

1. *Nominals*

(a) Accusative: **bhōjan kaīl**, to eat; **bhojan dihal**, to feed; **jamā kaīl**, to gather; **darsan kaīl**, to see; **nām lihal**, to repeat the name of (God).

(b) Locative: **āgē baṛhal**, to advance; **pāchē haṭal**, to be back; **nīcē giral**, to fall, etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun:—

(i) Inceptives (with $\sqrt{\text{lāg}}$, to begin), e.g. **kahe lāgal**, (he) began to say; **māre lāgal** (he) began to beat; **khāe lāgal**, (he) began to eat.

The western Bhojpuri idiom is illustrated by the phrases **dekhaj lāgal**, to begin to see.

(ii) Desideratives: e.g. **bāje cāhat bā**, is about to strike; **u bole cāhātā**, he wishes to speak; **u sute cāhātā**, he wishes to sleep; **u bhāge cāhātā**, he wishes to fly; **u jāe cāhātā**, he wishes to go.

(iii) Accusatives: **jāe pāwal**, to be able to go; **baise pāwal**, to be able to sit.

(iv) Permissives: **jāe dihal**, to allow to go; **bole dihal**, to allow to speak; **khāe dihal**, to allow to eat.

(d) Desideratives: When the principal verb is put in the oblique: Generally this form of compound verbs expresses desire, e.g. **u jāe cāhātā**, he wishes to go; **u bhāge cāhātā**, he wishes to fly.

(i) The desiderative compound in the precative form with **cāhi** is idiomatically used to express obligation or duty, e.g. **i pōṭhi paṛhal cāhi**, (one) ought to read this book (lit. be good

enough to wish to read); **tohārā uhā jāe cāhī**, it is right for you (i.e. you ought) to go there.

- (ii) The western Bhojpurī idiom is illustrated by the phrases **dekhaē cāhal**; **dekhal cāhal**; **dekhabaē cāhal**, to wish to see.

(e) Potentials: **bol sakal**, to be able to speak; **dhaūr sakal**, to be able to run; **jāi sakal**, to be able to go.

(f) Frequentatives: Formed by affixing the verb **karal** or **kail** with verbal noun in -al, e.g. **āil karal** or **kail**, to come often (lit. do the act of coming); **kahal karal** or **kail**, to be in the habit of saying; **paṛhal karal** or **kail**, to be in the habit of reading. Probably this construction is based on Hindī because there are no equivalents in other Māgadhan speeches.

2. Verbals

(a) The following auxiliary verbs are usually employed to form intensives:—

- (i) Implying violence: **tur ḍālal**, to break in pieces; **mār ḍālal**, to kill.

The auxiliary verb **ghālal** is also used in Bhojpurī. In fact the verb **ghālal** is also used in Bengālī, e.g. **mār ghālal**, to kill, etc.

- (ii) Implying completion: **bani āil**, to be completed; **khā jāil**, to eat up.

- (iii) Implying chance: **gir paral**, to fall.

- (iv) Implying suddenness: **bol uṭhal**, to speak suddenly.

- (v) Implying reflexiveness: **rākhi lihal**, to lay by.

(b) Continuatives—These are formed in Bhojpurī by combining the present participle of any verb with the verbs **jāil**, to go, or **rahal**, to remain. The compound with **jāil** expresses *steady progression* and with **rahal** the continuance of a complete action, e.g.

u likhat jāt bāṭe, he is going on writing; **pānī bahat jāt bāṭe**, the water keeps flowing away; **nadī ke ḍhār bahat rahelā**, the stream of the river keeps flowing on.

(c) Staticals—These denote motion in a state of doing anything. These are formed by combining a verb of motion with a present participle, e.g.

rowat āil, to come weeping; **gāwat āil**, to come singing.

CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS

§687. The OIA and MIA (Pāli) adverbs are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems (vide Whitney : Sanskrit Grammar, §§1097 ff., and Pāli Mahāvīyākaraṇa, p. 215).

The OIA and MIA characteristic has been inherited by NIA speeches where adverbs are based on nouns, pronouns, adjectives or on ancient adverbs. The pronominal adverbs have been discussed previously under pronouns. The rest are discussed here.

§688.

ADVERBS OF TIME

(See also Pronominal Adverbs of Time under Pronoun, §489.)

(a) Based on nouns :

sāiti, moment (cf. Kōśali : *sāiti* < Perso-Arabic *sā'a't* ساءت); **gharī**, moment, time (Sk. *ghaṭikā*, Pa. *ghaṭikā*, Pk. *ghaṭiā*); **samāi**, moment (Sk. *samaya*); **ṭēm** (Eng. time); **bakhat**, moment (Perso-Arabic *waqt*); **jaldī**, at once (Perso-Arabic *jald*); **phurtī**, with haste (Sk. *spūrṭi*); **hālī**, with haste (probably connected with Perso-Arabic *hāl* حال, meaning at present).

(b) Based on other adverbs :—

āgē (*agrah*), in front; **āju**, today (Sk. *adya* : Pa. Pk. *ajja*); **kālhi**, tomorrow (Sk. *kalṣam*, *kalye*, at daybreak, tomorrow, Pa. *kallam*, at dawn; Pk. *kallam*, *kalm*, yesterday); **turant**, immediately (Sk. *turate*, pres. part. *turat*, *tarate*, hastens : Pa. *turati*, Pk. *turai*, *tuvaranta* < *tuvarant*-); **nīt** (*nityam*), constantly; **bāram-bār**, repeatedly (*vāramvāram*); **abā**, now (-vv- appears to be the origin of -b-, the starting point according to Dr. Chatterji being Sk. *evam*, Pk. *evam*). The origin of *kabā*, when, *jabā*, when, *tabā*, then, are the pronominal bases *ka* + *ba*, *ja* + *ba* and *ta* + *ba*.

§689. When the pronominal adverbs are repeated or combined their meaning is changed, e.g. **jabā jabā**, whenever, followed by **tabā tabā** in the correlative clause; **jahā jahā**, wherever, regularly followed by **tahā tahā**; **kabhī kabhī**, sometimes; **kahī kahī**, in some few places.

§690. The relative may be combined with the corresponding indefinite adverb to express a certain sort of indefiniteness, e.g. **jabā kabhī**, whenever; **jahā kahī**, wherever. Or, the negative particle *nā* may be interposed between two cognate adverbs to express a certain sort of indefiniteness, e.g. **jabā nā tabā**, now and then; **kabhī nā kabhī**, at sometime or other; **kahī nā kahī**, somewhere or other.

§691.

ADVERBS OF PLACE

(See also the Pronominal Adverbs of Place and Direction under Pronoun, §491 and §492.)

ante, elsewhere (Sk. *anyatra*); **niyar**, close-by (Sk. *nikṣaṭa*, *nigṇḍa*, *ni-a-ḍa*, *niār*, *ni-y-ar*); **nagīc**, near (cf. also H. *nagīc*, N. *nagīc* < Pers.

nazdik); *pār*, across (Sk. *pāram*, the further shore, *pāre*, at the further end, beyond; Pa. *pāram*, farther bank, adv. beyond, Pk. *pāra*-); *bhitar* (cf. N. *bhitra* < Pk. *abbhintara* (probably < Sk. *abhyantara*-; Pa. *abbhantara*-) or < **abhiy-antara* with early loss of *a*-, N.D., p. 477); *bāhar*, outside (Pa. *bāhiro*, outer (cf. Sk. *bahiḥ*, out; Pk. *bāhi*), Pk. *bāhiraa*-); *tarē*, on the surface, *tara*+*hi* in the locative (Sk. *talaḥ*, bottom, sole, Pa. Pk. *tala*-), etc.

§692.

ADVERBS OF MANNER

(For Adverbs of Manner, see under Pronoun, Pronominal Adverbs of Manner, §487.)

The following *ts.* or *sts.* words are commonly used as adverbs of manner:—

aksmāt, suddenly; *ati*, very; *sts. atiant*, infinitely; *adhikṛ*, more; *kewalṛ*, only; *nirantarg*, incessantly; *parasparṛ*, mutually; *yathā*, as; *tathā*, so; *sts. birithā*, in vain; *sahajṛ*, naturally; *satya*, truly.

§693.

ADVERBS OF NUMBER

e.g. *ek-sar*, alone; an adjective but also used as an adverb, cf. *dosar*, *tisar*. The derivation is *ek*+*sar* < √*sr*, to move. The sense of once, twice, etc. is expressed in Bhoj. with the help of some such nouns as *tōr*, *tōrī*, *hālī*, etc., e.g. *ek tōr*, *tōrī*, *hālī*, once; *du tōr*, *tōrī*, *hālī*. The derivation of *tōr* appears to be *toḍ* (a *toḍ* or *toṛ* in modern St. Bhoj. means 'a piece of bamboo cut from the whole') < **trōṭ*-, breakage < *troṭayati*, Pk. *toḍai*, breaks. The origin of *hālī* is Perso-Arabic *ḥāl*.

§694.

ADVERBS OF QUANTITY

(See also §483 under Pronoun.)

e.g. *aurī*, more (*apara*-); *bahut*, much (Pk. *bahutta*-, much—perh. < Sk. *bahutvam*, abundance; Pa. *bahuttam*; cf. Sk. *bahuḥ*; Pā. *bahu*, *bahuko*, Pk. *bahua*, N.D., p. 427); *jyādā*, much (Perso-Arabic *zyādah* زائد); *kam*, less (Pers. *kam* کم); *kulhi*, whole (Perso-Arabic *kullī*); *bēsī*, more (Pers. *bēš*); *bēs*, better (lw. Beng. < Pers. *bēš*, better).

§695.

ADVERBS OF AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION

The common affirmative adverb is *hā*, yes (cf. N. *hā*, N.D., p. 628, and H. *hā*). The negative adverbs are *nā*, *nāhī* (probably < **na-ahai*, N.D., p. 337) and *mat*, no, not. Of these *mat* is regularly used with the imperative only; *nāhī*, never, with the imperative and *nā* with any part of the verb.

In the western Bhojpuri dialect of Banāras in Tahsīl Candauli *nūhī* is used instead of *nāhī*, not.

§696. Various nouns and adjectives are also used in affirmation, e.g. *ts. avāṣya*, *jarūr* (lw. H. *zarūr* from Pers.-Ar.), certainly; *niścaya*, *nihicē*, assuredly.

§697. The following Persian and Arabic words occur now and then as adverbs in Bhoj. These have come through Hindi, e.g.

jald, *jaldi*, quickly; *śāyad*, *sāyad*, *sāid*, perhaps; *hameśā*, *hameś*, *hames*, always; *albattā*, *albatt*, certainly, indeed; *khāskar*, especially; *bilkul*, altogether; *yāne*, *yānī*, namely, that is to say.

§698. Some adverbs and nouns compounded form useful adverbial phrases, e.g. **aurī kahī**, elsewhere; **kabahī nāhī**, never; **dhire dhire**, slowly, easily; **nāhī-ta**, else.

§699. Conjunctive participles are very often equivalent to English adverbs, e.g. **jāni ke**, knowingly; **millike**, together, etc. Here we may also note the use of **kaīke** (H. *karake*), conj. part. of root $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, with nouns, adjectives and numerals, forming adverbial phrases, e.g. **mehanati kaīke**, laboriously; **khās kaīke**, chiefly; **ekek kaīke**, singly; **nīcē mūh kaīke**, with face downwards.

§700. We may here notice the particle **hē**, **ē** which may be placed after any word to render it emphatic. It may sometimes be rendered by 'just', 'very', or some similar word; often, however, its force can only be expressed by a stress of the voice. After the pronouns **i** (H. *yah* and *u*), the particle **hē** is employed but after **jē**, **sē** sometimes **ī** is employed. This **ī** comes from **hī** (in Hindi, the particle is *hī*, e.g. *yahī*, *wahī*, also cf. H. *johī*, *sohī* and *joī*, *soī*) and is written as a part of the pronoun, e.g. **ham u-he bāt kahālī**, I told that very thing; **ham ihē bāt kahālī**, I told this very thing; **jeī āī sēī piṭāī** or **jehī āī sēhē piṭāī**, whosoever will come, he (lit. that very man) will be beaten.

CHAPTER VIII

CONJUNCTIONS

§701. The conjunctions of Bhoj. can be divided into two classes :—

- (A) Co-ordinating.
- (B) Sub-ordinating.

(A) CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTION

§702. Co-ordinating conjunctions are of four kinds :—

- (i) Cumulative or copulative which merely add one statement to another.
- (ii) Adversative which express opposition or contrast between two statements.
- (iii) Disjunctive or alternative which express a choice between two alternatives.
- (iv) Illative which express an inference.

§703. The following are the cumulative or copulative conjunctions in St. Bhoj. :—

ā, **aurī**, **ā-phinu**, and, e.g. **tab mohan ā sohan jaiḥē**, or **tab mohan aurī sohan jaiḥē**, or **tab mohan ā-phinu sohan jaiḥē**.

‘Then Mohan and Sohan will go.’

The origin of **ā** and **aurī** is Sk. *aparam*, moreover, Pā. *aparam*, Pk. *avaram* (cf. W. Bhoj. conj. **au**, N. *au*, *aru*, H. *aur*) and **ā-phinu** is = two conjunctions **ā+phinu**. This **phinu** appears to be a blending of **phir+punah**. For the derivation of **phir**, see N. *phir* and *phirnu*, also *phirnu*, under *addenda*, N.D., pp. 406 and 651.

§704. The most common adversative conjunction in St. Bhoj. is **bāki** (< Perso-Arabic *bāqī*), e.g. **u ha ta dhanī bāki kehū ke eko paīsā nā dei**, he is rich but does not give even a pie to anybody or though he is rich, he does not, etc.

The persons connected with Bengāl very often use *kintu* and *parantu* and Persian *magar* and Perso-Arabic *lekin* are employed by Muslims and Kāyasthas.

§705. Disjunctive or Alternative Conjunctions.

The common Hindi disjunctive conjunctions *vā*, *athavā* or preferably Arabic *yā* are not employed in St. Bhoj. The most commonly used alternative conjunction is **ā bhā**, e.g. **mohan ā bhā sohan jaiḥē**, either Mohan or Sohan will go.

The origin of **ā** has been previously explained. The **bhā** is from defective Bhoj. root **hō** (cf. N. *bhaye* obl. of *bhāyo* and past part. of *hunu*, N.D., pp. 464 and 641).

Besides, the following are also used as alternative conjunctions in St. Bhoj. :—

- (a) The negative disjunctives 'neither', 'nor', are expressed by repeating the negative particle *nā* with each successive clause, e.g.

nā mohan jalhē, nā sohan, neither Mohan will go nor Sohan.

- (b) *ki* (H. *ki*) is also employed as an alternative conjunction, e.g. *tu jāibā ki nā*, will you go or not ?

The origin of *ki* is Sk. *kim*, Pa. *kim* or it may be a lw., at least in meaning, from Persian *ki* (see N. *ki*, N.D., p. 91).

- (c) The word *cāhe* (< root *cāh*, to wish, N. *cāhanu*, Pk. *cāhai*; for further derivation see N. *cāhanu*, N.D., p. 173) is used as an alternative conjunction in two successive clauses for 'whether' ... 'or', e.g. *cāhe u āwē cāhe nā āwe*, whether he comes or not. For the second *cāhe*, *bhū* may be used, e.g. *cāhe āwe bhū nā*.

- (d) The interrogative *kā*, when repeated with nouns, must also be rendered 'whether' ... 'or', e.g. *kā marad kā meharārū*, whether man or woman.

§706. The common illative conjunction in St. Bhoj. is *ta*, then, therefore, e.g. *u nā alle ta hamarā jāe ke paral*, he did not come therefore I had to go.

This *ta* is employed in Nepālī with a slight adversative or contrasting sense. The origin is Sk. *tāt*, Aśokan inscription : *ta*, Pk. *tū* or more probably < Sk. *tadā* : Pa. *tadā*, Pk. *taiā* or possibly < Sk. *tathā*, Pa. *tathā*, Pk. *taha*, N.D., p. 271.

(B) SUB-ORDINATING CONJUNCTION

§707. The following are employed in St. Bhoj. as sub-ordinating conjunctions :—

je, jeki, jeme, jehme, jō, kāhēki, jānu, jāno, mānō, e.g.

u hamarā se kahale je or *jeki toharā gharē cōrī hō gailli*,
he told me that a theft had occurred at yours.

jeme or *jehme*, in order that, e.g.

u dawālī khallē je-me or *jeh-me jaldī nik hō jāsu*, he took
medicine in order that he might recover soon.

jō, if, e.g.

jō ham sutī ta marihā, beat me, if I sleep.

kāhēki, because, e.g.

kitāb lawatā dihalī kāhēki u niman adīmī nā hatie, I
returned his book because he is not a good man.

jānu, jāno, as if, e.g.

tū rāti khā alsan hallā macawala jānu or *jano dākā paral
bāi*, you raised such an alarm at night as if a dacoity had
taken place.

māno, as if, e.g.

u aīsē girāl māno kawano lāṭhī girāl or **u aīsē girāl jaisē kawano lāṭhī girāl**, he fell down as if a stick fell down.

The origin of **je**, **jeh**, **jō**, **kā** has been discussed under the pronoun and that of **ki** above. The derivation of **jāno** and **jānu** is Sk. *jānāti*, Pa. *jānāti*, Pk. *jānei* (cf. B. *jāna*, N. *jānnu*, H. *jānnā*) and **māno** is second pl. old present **mān**, to accept, obey, listen to (cf. H. *mānnā* and N. *mānnu*; and for the derivation see *mānnu*, N.D., p. 504).

CHAPTER IX

INTERJECTION

§708. Vocative interjections are the following :—

he (Sk. *he*, Pa. Pk. *he*); **ho** (Sk. *ho*); **ahō, āho, arē** (Sk. *are*, Pa. Pk. *are*); **re** (Sk. Pa. *re*), O. Of these **he** is the most respectful, and must be used to superiors; **ho, ahō, āho** are employed in addressing equals or superiors (such as uncles and elder brothers) when no displeasure is intended; and **arē, re** always indicate some degree of displeasure or disrespect.

These interjections precede the noun with which they are connected but **ho** and **re** sometimes follow the noun, e.g. **rām ho**, O Rām; **camarā re**, O camar. In Hindī **re** is changed to **rī** in the feminine gender, e.g. **arī** or **rī larī** or **larī rī**, O girl; but in Bhoj. **are** and **re** do not change for gender.

§709. Various emotions are expressed by the following :—

a, expresses pity, **ā**, despondency, **bāh** (H. *wāh*), approbation and surprise, 'bravo', 'well'; **dhani** (Sk. *dhanya*- auspicious) expresses praise, 'bravo', 'well done'; **hāi hāi** also **hā hā** and **āh āh** (cf. Sk. *hā*, Pa. Pk. *hā*), alas; **trāhi** also sts. **tarāhi** is mercy!, lit. 'save'; **uh** and **oh**, oh, express pain or disgust; **jai jai** (Sk. *jaya*-), hurrah!, lit., 'victory!' 'victory!'; **chī chī**, fie, expresses disgust, also **thū thū** and **thuṛi thuṛi** express disgust. Yet other interjections are **dhirik** and **dhirikār**, shame (cf. Sk. *dhikkārah*, Pk. *dhikkārijjai*, is cursed); **dur** (Sk. *dūrah*; Pa. Pk. *dūra*-), get away; **cup**, hush! (cf. B. *cup*, O. *cupa*, A. *sup*, N. *cup*).

§710. The usual words of salutation among the Hindus are: to equal or inferiors in caste, **rām ! rām !**; to Brahmins **namaskār**, obeisances; to Europeans or Muslims **salām**, lit., 'peace'; or, still more respectfully, **bannagī**, lit., service! (Pers. *bandagī*).

APPENDIX I

OLD TEXTS

- (a) **Kabira Sāhēba kī Śabdāwalī**, Part I, Fourth Edition,
Published by the Belvedere Press, Allāhābād.
- (b) Do. Do. Part II.
- (c) Do. Do. Do.
- (d) Do. Do. Part IV.
- (e) **Dhanī Dharama Dāsa jī kī Śabdāwalī**, Second Edition,
Published by the Belvedere Press, Allāhābād.
- (f) Do. Do. Do.
- (g) **Prēma Pragāsa**
- (h) Do.
- (i) **Sōhara**
- (j) Do.
- (k) A Document of 'Hōrila Śiha' of Bhojpurī, District Shāhābād.
- (l) **Paṁcanāmā** or An Arbitration Deed (A.D. 1787).
- (m) Do. Do. (A.D. 1824).

(a) *Kabira Sāhēba kī Śabdāwalī*, Part I, page 23, śabda 5.

1. **kaṇṇō ṭhagawā nagariyā lūṭala hō.**
 2. **candana kāṭha kaṭ banal khaṭolanā,
tāpara dulahina sūṭala hō.**
 3. **uṭhōrī sakhi mōrī māga sāwārō,
dulahā mōsē rūṣala hō.**
 4. **āyē jamarāja palāga caṛhi baṭṭhē,
naṁnana āsū ṭuṭala hō.**
 5. **cāri jane mili khāṭa uṭhāin (uṭhawalē ?),
cahū disa dhū dhū ūṭhala hō.**
 6. **kahata kabīra sunō bhāi sādho !
jaga sē nātā chūṭalā hō.**
1. Some robber robbed the city.
 2. The small cot is made of sandalwood,
(and) the bride slept on that.
 3. O my friend ! get up and comb my hair,
the bridegroom is displeased with me.
 4. The Lord of Death came and sat on my bed,
(and) the eyes began to shed tears (lit. pour down tears).
 5. Four men took up the bier,
(and) on all four sides fire (lit. flames) arose.

6. Says Kabir, 'Listen to me my brother saint,
the connection with the world is severed.'

(b) *Kabira Sāhēba kī Śabdāwalī*, Part II, page 40, śabda 28.

1. tōra hīrā hīrāilbā kīcaṛē mē.
 2. kōī ḍhūṛḥaḥ pūraba, kōī ḍhūṛḥaḥ pachima,
kōī ḍhūṛḥaḥ pānī patharē mē.
 3. sura nara muni aru pīra auliyā
saba bhūlala bāṛaḥ nakharē mē.
 4. dāsa Kabira yē hīrā kō parakhāḥ
bādhi lihalāḥ jatana sē acarē mē.
1. Your diamond has been lost in mud.
 2. Somebody is searching it in the east
while someone in the west,
someone is searching it in water and in stone.
 3. The gods, men and saints as well as the 'Pīrs' and 'Auliyās'
(Muslim priests and saints)—
All are misled in coquetry.
 4. (Only) Kabir Dās has gauged the value of the diamond.
(so) he with great care tied it in the border of the cloth.

(c) *Kabira Sāhēba kī Śabdāwalī*, Part II, page 69, śabda 11.

1. sūtala rahalū maḥ nīda bhari hō,
guru dihalāḥ jagāī ;
2. carana kāwala kaḥ añjana hō,
nāḥnā lēlū lagāī ;
3. jā sē nīdiyā na āwaj hō,
nahī tana alasāī.
4. guru kē bacana nija sāgara hō,
calu calī hō nahāī.
5. janama janama kē papawā hō,
china mē ḍāraba dhuwāī.
6. wahi tana kaḥ jaga dīpa kiyō,
sruta batiyā lagāī.
7. pāca tatta kaḥ tēla cūāyē
brahma agina jagāī.
8. sumati gahanawā pahiralaḥ hō,
kumati dihalāḥ utāra.
9. nirguna māgiyā sāwaralaḥ hō
nirbhaya sēdura lāī.

10. **prēma piyālā piyāi kē hō**
guru diyō (dihalē ?) baurāi.

11. **biraha agina tana talaphaj hō,**
jiya kachu na suhāi.

12. **ūca aṭariyā caṭhi baiṭhalū hō,**
jahā kāla na khāi.

13. **kahaj kabīra bicāri kē hō**
jama dēkhi ḍērāya.

1. I remained sleeping in deep slumber,
(when) the teacher awoke me;
2. The collyrium (of the dust) from his lotus-like feet,
I put it in my eyes;
3. On account of which neither sleep may come,
nor the body may feel drowsiness.
4. The word of the teacher is like an ocean,
let us go and take a dip in it.
5. The sin of several births,
I will wash in a moment.
6. He made this body like a lamp,
putting (therein) the wick of love.
7. He squeezed the oil from the five elements of my body—
by inflaming the fire of Brahma (the Creator).
8. I put on the ornaments of good conscience
and put off the bad conscience.
9. He arranged my hair
and applied vermilion to it fearlessly.
10. The teacher got me drink the cup of Love
(and he) made me mad.
11. The body has become restless on account of the fire of separation,
(and) nothing is pleasing to the mind.
12. (I) climbed up the balcony and sat there
where even death does not devour.
13. Says Kabīr after thinking,
'The Lord of Death fears after seeing it.'

(d) *Kabīra Sāhēba kī Śabdāvalī*, Part IV, page 19.

jātasāra

1. **apanē piyā kī maj hoibaṭ sōhāgini,**
—ahē sajanī.

2. bhajyā taji saiyā sāga lāgaba rē kī.
3. saiyā kē duāriyā anahada bājā bājaj
—ahē sajanī.
4. nācahī surati sōhāgini rē kī.
5. gaṅga jamuna kē aṅghataṭ ghaṭiyā hō,
—ahē sajanī.
6. tēhi para jōgiyā maṭha chāwala rē kī.
7. dehaṇī sataguru surti kē birawā ho
—ahē sajanī.
8. jōgiyā darasa dēkhē jāiba rē kī.
9. dāsa kabīra yaha gawalaj laganiyā hō,
—ahē sajanī.
10. satagura alakha lakhāwala rē kī.

*The song sung by the women while grinding corn
in a hand-mill made of stone*

1. I will be the favourite wife of my Husband.
—O dear friend.
2. I, leaving my brother, will accompany my Husband.
3. At the door of my Husband, the musical instruments are played
continuously,
—O dear friend.
4. (And) the favourite wife full of love dances.
5. The banks of the Gangā and the Jamunā are rugged,
—O dear friend.
6. On that the Jōgī (ascetic) has thatched his hut.
7. O my True Teacher ! give me the plant of Thy love,
—O dear friend.
8. I will go to have a glimpse of the Jōgī.
9. Kabīr Dās has sung this marriage song,
—O dear friend.
10. The True Teacher showed the Invisible.

(e) *Dhanī Dharama Dāsajī kī Śabdāwalī*, page 45, śabda 12.

1. sutala rahalaṇī maj sakhiyā,
tō biṣa kara āgara hō.
2. sataguru dihalaj jagāi,
pāyaṇī sukha sāgara hō.

3. jaba rahali janani kē wōdara,
parana samhārāla hō :—
4. jaba laṛi tana mē prāna,
na tōhi bisarāiba hō.
5. ēka bunda sē sāhēba,
mādila banāwala hō.
6. binā nēwa kaj mandila.
bahu kala lāgala hō.
7. ihawā gāwa na ṭhāwa,
nahī pura pāṭana hō.
8. nāhina bāṭa baṭōhī,
nahī hita āpana hō.
9. sēmara haj samśāra,
bhuwā udharāila hō.
10. surmdara bhakti anūpa,
calē pachitāila hō.
11. nadī bahaj agama apāra,
pāra kasa pāiba hō.
12. sata-guru baiṭhē mukha mōri,
kāhi gōharāiba hō.
13. satta nāma guna gāiba
sata nā ḍolāiba hō.
14. kahaj kabīra dharmadāsa
amara ghara pāiba hō.

1. O friend ! I was sleeping in the house of poison.
2. The True Teacher awoke me and I got the ocean of happiness.
3. When I was in the womb of my mother, I made this vow---
4. So long as there will be life in my body,
I will not forget you.
5. The Lord created this house (body) out of a drop.
6. This house is without foundation but has several kinds of machines.
7. Here, there is no village, no place, no city ;
8. No way, no traveller and no dear one.
9. This world is like a 'Semar' tree (Bombax heptaphyllum). Its cotton spreads in all directions.
10. (Though) devotion is beautiful and unique in this world (yet not acting on it) one goes repenting.

11. The impassable and unbounded river is flowing.
How will I cross it ?
12. The True Teacher is sitting with his face opposite. Whom will I call
for help ?
13. I will sing the praise of True Name (the Name of God) and will not
forsake the truth.
14. Kabir says to Dharam Das, 'I will get the immortal place'.

(f) *Dhanī Dharama Dāsa jī kī Śabdāvalī*, page 63, śabda 3.

1. kahāwā sē jiwa āila,
kahāwā samāila hō ?
2. kahāwā kaila mukāma,
kahā lapaṭāila hō ?
3. niraguna sē jiwa āila,
sarguna samāila hō.
4. kāyāgaṛha kaila mukāma,
māyā lapaṭāila hō.
5. ēka bunda sē kāyā,
mahala uṭhāwala hō.
6. bunda parē galī jāya,
pāchē pachitāwala hō.
7. haṁsa kahāj bhāi sarawara,
hama uṛī jāiba hō.
8. mōra tōra etana didāra,
bahuri nahī pāiba hō.

1. From where did the soul come (and) where it enter ?
2. Where did it make its abode (and) where was it entangled ?
3. The soul came from 'Nirguna' (the formless Brahma) and became
'Saguna' (entered the body).
4. (It) made its abode in the fortress of body (and) got entangled with
'Māyā' (illusion).
5. (He) built this palace of body with a drop (only).
6. (This body) is dissolved when drops fall, and one has to repent after-
wards.
7. The swan (soul) says to the lake (body), 'O brother ! I shall fly away.
8. We lived with each other for such a short time (but) we shall see each
other no more.'

9. ihawā kōi nahī āpana,
kēhi sāga bōlaj hō ?
10. bica tarawara majdāna,
akēlā (harṁsā) ḍōlaj hō.
11. lakha caurāsī bharami,
manukha tana pāila hō.
12. mānukha janama amōla,
apana sō khōila hō.
13. sāheba kabīra sōhara gāwala,
gāi sunāwal hō.
14. sūnahu hō dharmadāsa,
ehī cita cētahu hō.

9. Here there is nobody my own,
with whom shall I talk ?
10. In the centre, there is a lonely open field;
the swan (the soul) moves about alone.
11. After wandering through eighty-four lacs of births, I got this body of
the man.
12. This life of man is priceless (and) I wasted it on my own accord.
13. Kabīra Sāheb sang this 'sohar' (the song of birth) and made it hear.
14. 'Listen to it, O Dharam Dās, and take a lesson (from it).'

Prēma-Pragāsa

By Dharaṇī Dāsa

Text from a manuscript completed on 21st date of Bhādō, year 1281
(Fasāl)=A.D. 1873, by Mahanta Rāma Dāsa of Mājhi, District Sāran,
Bihār, for Jānakidāsī *alias* Baratā Kuāra of the same place.

(g) *Prēma-Pragāsa*

(jhumatā)

1. ki subha dinā āju, sakhi subha dinā.
2. bahuta dinanha pia basala bidēsa,
āju sunala niyu āwana sādēsa.
3. citra citra sariā mē lihala likhāi,
hirdaē kawala dhailō diarā lēsāi.
4. prēma palāga tahā dhailō bichāe,
nakha sikha sahaja sīgāra banāe.
5. mana sēwakahi dihu āgu calāi,
najna dhaila dui duārā baśāi.

6. **dharanī sō dhanī palu palu akulāi**
binu pia jīwana akāratha jāi.

(A form of song sung in chorus and in a dancing pose.)

1. What an auspicious day today is !
O friend ! what an auspicious day !
2. For many years the husband lived away from me. Today I have
heard the message of his coming.
3. I got the picture-house of my mind painted and I lighted my lotus-like
heart with a lamp.
4. I spread my love cot there and beautified myself from head to foot with
natural decoration.
5. I sent forward my mind-servant (to welcome) and made my eyes to sit
at the door.
6. Dharanī Dās says that the wife (devotee) is restless every moment,
(because) without Husband (God) the life is worthless.

(h) *Prēma-Pragāsa*

1. ki mōrē dēsawā, sakhī mōrē dēsawā
ēka acarja bāta mōrē dēsa.
2. tara kē upara bhajlā ; upara kē hēṭha ;
jēṭha lahura hōlā ; lahurā sē jēṭha ;
3. āgu kē pāchu hōlā ; pāchu hōlā āgu ;
jāgala sutajlā ; sutala uṭhi jāgu.
4. nārī puruṣa hōlā, puruṣa sē nārī
bhāi mānahu, nahi, sawatī plārī.
5. āila sē gaḷla ; gaḷla cali āu—
dharanī kē dēsawā kaj aḷsana subhāu.

1. O friend ! what strange country mine is !
There is a strange thing about my country.
2. He who is in the bottom, comes to the top ;
he who is at the top comes to the bottom ;
he who is elder becomes younger ;
he who is younger becomes elder ;
3. He who is in the front rank goes behind ;
he who is behind comes to the front rank ;
he who awakes, sleeps ; he who sleeps, awakes.
4. A woman becomes a man while a man becomes a woman. The brother
is not loved but the co-wife is loved.
5. He who came went away ; he who went came :
Such is the nature of the country of Dharanī Dāsa.

(The following two Sōhara Songs of the Standard Bhojpuri were collected by Pt. Jaya Govinda Miśra of the village Sahtwār of Balliā District. The language is somewhat archaic.)

(i) Sōhara

1. sāsu mōri kaheli bājhiniyā,
nanada brajbāsinī rē.
2. e lalanā ! jinīkar bāri mē biāhi,
uhō ghar se nikālele hō.
3. ghar se nikālali bājhiniyā,
nikhujh banē ṭhāṛhi bhaīli rē.
4. e lalanā ! bana mē se nikāli baghiniyā,
puche-le bhēda lāi nū hō—
5. kiyā tore sāsu nanada ghar bajrini ?
naihar duri basē rē ?
6. e tiriya ! kawanī bipatī tohārō parāli,
nikhujh bane āwēlu hō.
7. nāhi morā sāsu nanada ghar bajranī,
naihar duri basē rē.
8. e bāghini ! kokhi kā bipatī bayaragali,
nikhujh banē aīli nū hō.
9. sāsu mōri kaheli bājhiniyā,
nanada brajbāsinī rē.
10. e bāghini ! jinīkar bāri mē biāhi,
uhō ghar se nikālele hō.
11. jagawā ke sab dukh sahabō,
ihē nāhi sahabi rē.
12. e bāghini ! hamārā ke tūhū khāi litū,
bipatī mōr chūṭit hō.
13. jahawā se aīlū tiriawā !
uhē calī jāhu nu rē.
14. e tiriya ! toharā ke ham nāhi khaibō,
bajhini hōi jāibi hō.
15. uhawā se jāi tiriawā,
biyarī lagē ṭhāṛhi bhaīli rē.
16. e lalanā ! bili mē se nikali nagingiyā,
puchele bheda lāi nu hō—
17. kiyā tore sāsu nanada ghar bajranī ?
naihar duri basē rē ?

18. e tiriya ! kãwanĩ bipatĩ toharo parali,
biyarĩ lage thãrh bhallũ hõ.
19. nãhĩ morã sãsu nanada ghar bajranĩ,
naĩhar durĩ basẽ rẽ.
20. e nãginĩ ! kokhĩ kã bipati bayaragali,
biyarĩ lagẽ thãrh bhallĩ hõ.

Sõhar

(A kind of song sung by a group of women generally, when a male-child is born.)

1. My mother-in-law calls me a barren (woman), my sister-in-law calls me a wanton woman,
2. O lalanã¹ ! with whom I am married, even he drives me away from home.
3. The barren woman driven away from home stood in a dense forest.
4. O lalanã! the tigress coming out of the forest asks the cause secretly—
5. 'Are your mother-in-law and sister-in-law your enemies ? (or) Is your father's place far away ?
6. O woman ! what calamity has befallen you that you have come to this dense forest ?'
7. (She replies) :—Neither my mother-in-law nor my sister-in-law are my enemies nor my father's place is far away.
8. O tigress ! I have left my home on account of being barren and have come to this dense forest.
9. My mother-in-law calls me a barren (woman), my sister-in-law calls me a wanton woman.
10. O tigress ! with whom I am married, even he drives me away from home.
11. I shall endure all the troubles of the world, it is this which I shall not endure.
12. O tigress ! if you eat me up, I shall be relieved of the trouble.
13. (The tigress replies) O woman ! return to the place you have come from.
14. O woman ! I shall not eat you up (for) I shall also become barren.
15. Going from that place, the woman stood near a hole.
16. O lalanã ! the female serpent coming out of the hole asks (the cause) secretly—

¹ Lalanã (a woman) has been used repeatedly in the above song in the vocative case.

17. 'Are your mother-in-law and sister-in-law your enemies? (or) Is your father's place far away?
18. O woman! what calamity has befallen you that you have come to this dense forest?
19. (She replies):—Neither my mother-in-law nor my sister-in-law are my enemies nor my father's place is far away.
20. O Nāgin (female serpent)! I have left my home on account of my being barren and have come to this dense forest.

21. sāsu mori kaheli bājhiniyā,
nanada brajbāsini rē.
22. e nāgini! jinīkar bāri mē biāhi,
uhō ghar se nikālele hō.
23. jagawā ke sab dukh sahabō,
ihē nāhī sahabi rē.
24. e nāgini! hamārā ke tūhū dāsī litū
bipatī mōr chuṭit hō.
25. jahawā se aīlū tiriyaṡā!
uhē calī jāhu nu rē.
26. e tiriya! tohārā ke ham nāhī chuābō,
bajhini hōi jāibi hō.
27. uhawā se jāi tiriyaṡā,
amā ghar ṭhāṭh bhaīlī rē.
28. e lalanā! obarī se āi mayāriya
puchele bhēda lāi nu hō.
29. kiyā tōr kanta bidesē?
ki sāsu nikālele rē?
30. e dhīyā! kawāni bipatī toharō parali
nayan nīra ḡhārelu hō?
31. nāhī mōrā kanta bidēsē,
nā sāsu nikālele rē.
32. e āmā! kokhi kā bipatī bayaragālī,
nayana dunō ḡharēlā hō.
33. sāsu mōri kaheli bājhiniyā,
nanada brajbāsini rē.
34. e āmā! jinīkar bāri mē biāhi,
uhō ghar se nikālele hō.
35. jagawā ke sab dukh sahabō,
ihē nāhī sahabi rē.
36. ē āmā! hamārā ke dehu saranawā,
bipati kichu gāthī nu hō.

37. jahawā se allū dhiyariyā !
uhē calī jāhu nu rē.
 38. ē dhiyā ! tohārā ke rakhalē patohiyā,
bājhini hōi jāi nu hō.
 39. ságārē ke tejāli tiriyawā,
ta pirithi manāwelī rē—
 40. ē mātā ! phāṭī nā pirithi deāl,
ta ham gahābō saran hō.
21. My mother-in-law calls me a barren (woman), my sister-in-law calls me a wanton woman.
 22. O Nāgin (female serpent)! with whom I am married, even he drives me away from home.
 23. I shall endure all the troubles of the world, it is this which I shall not endure.
 24. O Nāgini (female serpent)! if you bite me, I shall be relieved of the trouble.
 25. (The female serpent replies) O woman! return to the place you have come from.
 26. O woman! I shall not bite you (for) I shall also become barren.
 27. Going from that place, the woman stood at her mother's place.
 28. O lalanā! the mother coming out of the inner compartment asks (the cause) secretly—
 29. 'Is your husband away from home? Does your mother-in-law drive you away from home?
 30. O daughter! what calamity has befallen you that you are shedding tears?
 31. (She replies)—Neither my husband is away from home nor my mother-in-law drives me away.
 32. O mother! I have left my home on account of my being barren, and I am shedding tears.
 33. My mother-in-law calls me a barren (woman), my sister-in-law calls me a wanton woman.
 34. O mother! with whom I am married, even he drives me away from home.
 35. I shall endure all the troubles of the world, it is this which I shall not endure.
 36. O mother! give me shelter so that I may relate some of my troubles.
 37. (The mother replies) O daughter! return to the place you have come from.

38. O daughter! by keeping you my daughter-in-law will also become barren.
39. Discarded from all places, the woman prays to the (goddess) Earth :—
40. 'O kind mother! split up, then I will take shelter.'

(j) Sōhara

1. eka ta mē pāna aīsana pātari,
phula aīsana sunari rē.
2. e lalanā ! bhuiyā loṭelē mōri kesiyā,
ta naīyā bājhiniyā ke hō.
3. āgana baharaīta ceriyā,
ta awarū lāuṛiyā nu rē,
4. ē ceriyā ! apana balaka mōhi ditē,
ta jiyarā juṛaītī nu hō.
5. desawā se balu hama nikalabi,
basabō nikhujh banē rē ;
6. ē rānī ! apana balaka nāhī debō,
tōra naīyā bajhiniyā kē hō.
7. mōrā pichu-ārawā baṛhaīyā bhaīyā !
bege calī āwahu rē.
8. e baṛhayā ! kāṭhe ke horilawā garhī dehu,
ta jiyarā juṛaībi hō.
9. piṭhiyā urehalē, ta peṭawā,
ta hāṭha gōṛa sirije lē rē ;
10. e lalanā ! mūhāwā urehata baṛhaīyā rowe,
paranawā kaīse ḍālabi hō ?
11. godawā mē lihalī horilawā,
ta obarī samālī nu rē.
12. e sāsu ! hāmarā bhaīle nādalāla,
naīharawā lōcana bhējahu hō.
13. dhāu tūhū gāṭā ke natūā,
begahī calī āwahu rē.
14. e natūā ! bahuā kā bhaīle nādalāla,
locana pahūcāwahu hō.
15. āgana baharaīta ceriyā,
ta rānī ke jagāwe le rē,
16. e rānī ! babunī kā bhaīle nādalāla.
locanawā natūwā lāwelā hō.
17. bole ke ta e ceriyā ! bolelu,
bolahu nāhī jānelu rē.

18. e ceriyā ! mori beṭi kokhī ke bajhiniyā,
locana kalsana āila hō ?
19. khirikina hoi jaba dekhali,
ta naūā ta jhalakelā rē.
20. e lalanā ! bāje lāgala anāda badhāwa,
mahala uṭhē sohara hō.
21. pasawā khelata tuhū babuā,
ta pasawana janī bhulu rē ;
22. e babuā ! tohārāhī bhaīlē bhayanawā,
dekhana tuhū jāwahu hō.
23. jaba bhaīyā aile āganawā,
ta bahinā udāseli rē ;
24. e lalanā ! dhaka dhaka karelā karejawā,
hamāra patī gallī nu hō.
25. jaba bhaīyā ailē obariyā,
ta balakā uṭhāwele rē ;
26. e lalanā, mana bikhē ādita manāwelli,
mora patī rākhahu hō.
27. hathawā ke lihale horilawā,
ta mūhawā ugharalani rē ;
28. e lalanā, ṭhunuki ṭhunuki horilā rowalē,
se ādita deyāla bhaīle hō.

1. Firstly I am thin like a betel (and) secondly I am beautiful like a flower;
2. O lalanā! the locks of my hair roll down to the ground, but I am called a barren woman.
3. O you maid servant! (engaged in) sweeping my courtyard, O you maid servant!
4. O you maid servant! if you give me your male child, I shall have cooled my heart.
5. (The maid servant says)—I shall go away from this locality and shall settle down in a dense forest;
6. O queen! (but) I will not give my child to you (because) you are called a barren woman.
7. (The queen says)—O my brother carpenter residing behind my house, come at once.
8. O carpenter! make a child of wood so that I may cool my heart.
9. He (the carpenter) made the back, the belly, then the hands and legs;

10. O lalanā! the carpenter while preparing the face wept (saying) 'How will I put life in it?'
11. She took the (wooden) child in her lap and entered the inner compartment.
12. O mother-in-law! a male child has been born to me, send this news to my father's place.
13. O barber of the village! run up, come soon.
14. O barber! a child has been born to my daughter-in-law, take this news (to her father's place).
(The barber goes to her father's place and informs the maid servant of the house.)
15. Sweeping the courtyard, the maid servant awakes the queen (and says)—
16. 'O queen! your daughter has given birth to a child. The barber has brought the news.'
17. (The queen says)—O maid servant! you try to speak but you do not know how to speak;
18. O maid servant! my daughter is a born barren (woman). How has this news come?
19. When she (the queen) peeped out of her window, the barber was visible.
20. O lalanā! an all-round rejoicing began and the birth song began to be sung in the palace.
21. (The queen addresses her son)—O my son! while playing dice, do not be absorbed in dice-playing;
22. O my son! a nephew is born to you, go to see him.
23. (Her brother goes to his sister) When (her) brother goes to the courtyard, the sister becomes sad;
24. O lalanā! (her) heart begins to beat rapidly (thinking that) her prestige was at stake.
25. When her brother came to the inner compartment, he took the child;
26. O lalanā! she prays to the sun-god in her heart (saying) 'Save my prestige.'
27. He took up the child in his hands and unveiled the face;
28. O lalanā! the child began to sob because the sun-god was pleased.

(k) The following rare document of Hōrīa Sīha, the king of Bhojpur, was copied from the 'Bahī' of Śrī Mādhava Paṇḍā of Dārāganj, Prayāg, on the information of Kumār Durgā Śaṅkar Singh of Dalippur, District Shāhābad

(Bihār). The original document bears the seal of Hōrila Sīha in Persian character. The date is Samvat 1785 (A.D. 1728).

hōrila sīha

Swōstī śrī ripurāja dajtyanārādenētya-ādī bibidha biradāwali
birājamāna mānonata śrī mähārājādhirāja rājā śrī—jīva dēva
dēvānā(m) sadā samara bijajnā. (āgē (suvamśa ?) pādē parā-āga
ke uparōhita pāchīla rajanha kaj uparōhita haūahi sē hamahu āpana
uparōhita kaīla. jē keū parā-āga māha āwaj sē suvamśa pādē kē
mānaī, ujena nāwa * * 1136 śāla mōkāma dāwā dhusa śamata
1785 samaj nāma bajsākha sudi tīrōdasī rōja budha * * praganaj
bhōjapura gotara sawanaka mūla ujena jāti pāwāra)

(suva(mśa) jē pāchīlā rajanha kaj uparōhita haūahi sē hamahu
kaīla apana uparōhita)

Hōrila Sīha

Translation of the portion under brackets.

[(The statement is that Suvamśa) pādē of Prayāg is the priest of the
past Rājās, so I also made him my priest. Whosoever among the Ujjen
(Rajputs) comes to Prayāg should have regard for him. * * * (year)
1136 śāla place Dāwā (The old place of the Rājās of Bhojpur, now a village)
śamat 1785 (A.D. 1728) date 13th of the bright part of Bajsākha, Wednesday.
* * * Paraganā Bhojpur, Gotra Śawanak, origin Ujen, caste Pāwāra.]

[Suva (mśa) who is the priest of the past Rājās, him I also made my
priest.]

The following two documents (*l*) and (*m*) were obtained in original from
Pt. Māheśwar Pādē of village Ratasār, District Balliā. The dates are
Samvat 1844 (A.D. 1787) and 1881 (A.D. 1824):—

(*l*) *Pañcanāmā*

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Śaraṇam

śubha aśthāna rataśarṇḍa, śakala pañca pradhāna āgē dui bādi
nyāwa ajlajhi, lāga bādi. tēk pādē pañca kā ihā katha katha jē
hamāra bēṣa jajamanikā kaj sē brahmacārī kaj sē balē lē subaśa pādē,
phala pādē luṭalē baṭajhi. taba pācō puchala pratibādi subamśa
pādē kē, phala pādē kē, jē tēka pādē kā kahajlaj-hī ? taba śubāśa
pādē kathala jē jaba sē hamāra milikī hawā, taba sē hama jajamanikā
milikī dunō hama karāwala hāinha. amala nāhi kabahi kaīla.
tēhi para pacō kahala jē dānapātra śīghārāē kaīla; prithimāla kaj
sa baṭōrī, dunō janā kē kā kahajlā. sabhō kahala jē pāca pustī
bhaīla, hamaranha i nāhi jāni jē dunō janā kaīlē rahalaj hā. aba
pañḍita kaj śāstra māgi. jekarā ke divya bhāṣai, sē gōśajā kā
ghara sē nikālī lēu. tēkara dunō bādi kabūla kajla. śāstra mitā-
charā kaj pōthī ālla. Pōthī kaj pūjā dunō bādi kaīla. subamśa
pādē kē divya ṭaharal. śubamśa kabula kaīla. karāhi baīśala.
ghiwa, tēla, nira laj līsāla. paraśna pādē kā mātthē badhāīla.
jaba bhāṣa lēbaj kē bhaīla, taba pacō puchala jē paca paramēś-
vara kajaī sē karahā. taba śubāśa kahala jē paca gōśaīla

hawā, je kahaj sē śahī. dunō bādi kabula kaīla. karāhī utarala. paca kē mōcālīkā apanī ſuśī liṣī dihala. pacō prithī-mala kaj jē rahaj sē paca kē lēkē niwārāla, jē brahmācārī kaj milikī para rahathu (rahasu?) tēka pādē, apanī jajamanīkā para rathu dunō bādī kabūla kaīla. rūkā bhaīla. aba kēu jhagarā karaj sē jhuṭhā. paca kē gunaha-gāra, gośajā kē gunahagāra. āgē subha smat (samvata?) 1844 smaṣ nāma śāna (śāwana?) śudi puranawāśī.

paca kaj nāwa—bhawānī rāē, hukuma rāē, dīnā rāē, haradatta rāē, śajna rāē, jowarāja rāē, aṭala rāē.

paca mahājana—baśana sāhu, sughara śāhu, manasā sāhu, lēṣī sāhu, sabha paca milī niwārāla. paca jīwaka pādē, janaūpura, ṭīkā pādē, nēwāśa bhārathī.

buddhi rāma pādē liṣala sabha paca kī jubānī.

In the shelter of Lord Krishna

The auspicious place 'Ratsār' (the name of a village in the Balliā district): 'Two rival parties came before the chiefs and the arbitrators of the village for the judgment. Tēka Pāṇḍe stated before the arbitrators 'Subaṁsa Pāṇḍē, Phala Pāṇḍē of the village "Bramhacārī" have looted my property and "jajmānī"'. Then the arbitrators also asked the defendants, Subaṁsa Pāṇḍē and Phala Pāṇḍē, if what Tēka Pāṇḍē had stated was true. Then Subaṁsa Pāṇḍē stated, 'Since the time we have possession over the property, we have possession over "jajmānī" also. The plaintiff was never in possession of it.' Then the arbitrators said, 'This property was donated by Singha Rāc; call all the "Prithīmalas" (the Rājputs of the village) and ask them, what they say about this?' All said, 'Five generations have passed. We do not know how these two men used to live. Now call for the "Śāstra" (a sacred book) from the Pandit and in whose favour the "Divya" ¹ decides, let him have the property'. Then the two parties agreed to it. The sacred book of 'Mitākṣarā' was brought. Both parties worshipped it. The 'Divya' belonged to Subaṁsa Pāṇḍē. He agreed to it. The frying pan was placed on fire. Then was written with 'Ghee' oil, water and was tied round the head of Parasan Pāṇḍē. When the time to give statement came, the arbitrators asked, 'Do as the sacred arbitrators say'. Then Subaṁsa said, 'The arbitrators are just like gods. They will speak the truth'. Then both the parties agreed. The frying pan was removed from the fire. They wrote a penalty bond before the arbitrators. The arbitrators of the village gave their judgment. Tēka Pāṇḍē should have the property of the village 'Bramhacārī' in his possession while the 'jajmānī' should be in the possession of both the parties. They agreed to it. (Then) this document was written. Now whosoever will quarrel will be taken to be untrue. He will be guilty before the arbitrators, before God. This document was written in the auspicious Samvat 1844, on the 15th day of the bright part of the month in Śrāvaṇa.

¹ An ordeal of which ten kinds are enumerated, viz. 1. *Tulā*; 2. *Agni* (touching fire); 3. *Jala* (immersion in water); 4. *Viṣa* (poison); 5. *Koṣa*; 6. *Tanḍul* (chewing rice grain and ejecting them); 7. *Tapta Māśa* (taking a 'māśa' weight of gold out of heated oil); 8. *Phāla* (holding a hot plough-share); 9. *Dharmā-dharma* (drying concealed images of virtue and vice out of a vessel filled with earth); 10. *Tulasi* (holding the leaves of holy basil and after repeating a form of oath swallowing them).

The names of arbitrators—Bhawānī Rāc, Hukum Rāc, Dinā Rāc, Haradatta Rāc, Śajinā Rāc, Jowarāja Rāc, Aṭala Rāc.

The merchant arbitrators—Baśana Sāhu, Sugbara Sāhu, Manasā Sāhu, Beśī Sāhu, all the arbitrators agreeing gave this judgment. The arbitrator Jiwaka, Pāḍē (of) Janaūpur (name of a village), Tikā Pāḍē, Nēwāśa Bhārathi.

Buddhi Rāma Pāḍē wrote it on being told by all the arbitrators.

(m) Paṁcanāma

Kadhaḷā rāma paṁḍita ji. (likhi) uchaṁta pāḍē wō harī pāḍē wōgaṁrha maṭuki pāḍē wō manasārāma pāḍē wō lālu pāḍē wō awatāra pāḍē wōgaṁrha lachī pāḍē mālika maujē maṭukipura śā (śākina ?) rata-śamḍa kaśabē khāśa wō uparōhita tālukē rataśamḍa tapaḷ caurāśī amalē praganē kōpāciṭa. āgē hamarā dunō jānū kū takarāra bhaj-ila kḥuṭa pḥēda bāga bāśa khēta pōkharā maujē maṭukipura wō jajumanikā tālukē rataśamḍa tapaḷ caurāśī kaj. taba hamarā dunō bādīnha āpuśa māha ēka dila hōē kē śalāha ṭhaharāwala kī ēka paṁca mokarara karī kī, jhaḡarā āpuśa kaj āchā nāhī. taba hamaranha kū āpuśa māha śalāha ṭhaharala kī paṁca kadhaḷārāma paṁḍita kē badī. jē paṁḍita niwārī dēhī. sē hamarā dunō janē kabula karī. śalāha āpuśa māha ṭhaharala. taba kadhaḷā-rāma paṁḍita kā ihā hamarā dunō janē gāilī. ahawāla mōphaśila baāna kaīlī. kahali kī hamaranha kaj jhaḡarā chōḍāē dēi. taba paṁḍita majakura nē kahala kī jō hamarā kē dunō janē jō paṁca badabā ta adālati jāi dunō janē hamarī nāwa kaj śaphīnā hajura sē lē āi. taba hama raūrā śabha kaj jhaḡarā chōḍāē dēba. taba hamarā dunō janē paṁḍita majakura sē araja kaīla kī lūma kātika kaj hamarā gīrahaśatai kaīla cāhī. jō hamaranha kē gāji-pura bhējilā, adālati mē, taba hamaranha bējiakū hōilā. taba paṁḍita majakura nē kahala kī āchā raūrā dunō bādī hamarī nāwa kē karāranāmā mocalikā śaṭama pra (para ?) likhi dēi, taba hama niwārī dēba. taba hamarā dunō bādī paṁca badala, apanā kḥuśa rajāē sē. paṁca kaj nāwa ... mālika maujē maṭukipura śā. (śākina ?) rataśamḍa kaśabē khāśa amalē praganē majakura kē karāranāmā mocalikā likhi dihala kī paṁḍita majakura jē niwārī dēhī sē hamarā dunō jānā kā kabula wō marajura. paṁḍita kū kahālā nibaralā jē dunō bādī māha ubhayaj sē apanā pada sē bāji rahaj; sāheba jaja ke jarībānā dē wō apanā jāti mē kupadī hōē. adālati mē ubhayī kē dunō bādī māha jē nālīśa karaj sē sāheba jaja wō kōraṭa apīla na sūnē. ēha arathē daśatāwēja karāranāmā mocalikā likhala, kī śanī anahāla śanadī, rahaj, wakhata pra (para ?) kāma āwaj. śana 1232 śāla, śamata 1881 mīti kātika badī aśaṭamī 8 mōkāma rataśamḍa śālā pra (para ?) karāranāmā mocalikā apanā kḥuśī rājīwamḍi sē dunō janē likhala.

II (likhi) uchaṁta pāḍē, tulā pāḍē, karāranāmā likhala sa sahī bā (bākalam) harī pāḍē.

II. manasā pāḍē, lālu pāḍē, atāra pāḍē, karāranāmā likhala sē sahī bā. lālu pāḍē.

gawāha—bhawānī śīgha, Imaradāra tālukaj rataśaḍa karāra uchata pāḍē wō manasā pāḍē wōgaṁrha, bā [bāqalam ?] bihārīdāśa.

gawāha :—

rajana śīgha Imaradāra tālukaj rataśaḍa karāra uchata pāḍē manasā pāḍē wōgaṁrha.

daśakhata :—

bihāridāśa paṭawāri maujē bahādurapura. śā [sākin ?] rataśaḍa kaśabē khāsa.

Kadhajrāma paṁḍita. Writes—Uchamta Pādē and Harī Pādē, etc. 'Maṭuki Pādē' (Pādē—a caste of Brāhman of the village Maṭukipura) and Manasārāma Pādē and Lālu Pādē and Awatāra Pādē, etc. Lachi Pādē owner of the Mauzā (village) Maṭukipura residence Rataśamḍa (the name of a village) Kaśbā. The same and priest of 'Tālukā' Rataśamḍa, 'Tappaj' Caurāśī under paraganā Kōpācṭa. (The fact is that) quarrel took place between us for the bamboo groves, trees, gardens, bamboo-fields, and tanks of 'Mauzā' 'Maṭukipura' and for the 'jajmāni' of 'Tālukā' Rataśamḍa, 'Tappaj' Caurāśī. Then, we, two rival parties agreeing among ourselves came to the conclusion that we should appoint an arbitrator because it is not good to quarrel. Then we decided that we should appoint Kadhajrāma Paṁḍita as an arbitrator. Whatever the Pandit will decide, we will accept it. Then, we went to Kadhajrāma Paṁḍita. We stated the facts before him in details. We asked him to stop our quarrel. Then the Pandit said, 'If you two appoint me an arbitrator, then you go to the court and bring an order. Then I will give my judgment in this case'. Then we made this prayer to the Pandit and said, 'This is the month of Kātik (a month of sowing seeds) and we are engaged in our fields. If you send us to the Court at Ghazipur, we become without a living.' Then the Pandit said, 'Well, you write an agreement and bond on a stamp paper. Then I will decide (your case).' Then, we, the two parties agreeing among ourselves appointed the Pandit as an arbitrator. The name of the arbitrator is ... owner of the village Maṭukipura, residence Rataśamḍa, of the same place. We wrote this agreement and bond to him (stating) that whatever the Pandit will decide, will be accepted by us. Whosoever of the two parties defies the order and judgment of the Pandit will forfeit his claim, will be liable to a fine by the judge and will be regarded as bad man in the caste. If any party (disagreeing) files a suit, then let it not be heard by the judge and the court. For this purpose the document and agreement was written so that it may be utilized when occasion arises and may be used at proper time. śana 1232 śāla, śamat 1881 (A.D. 1824), 8th date of the dark part of Kātika, place Rataśamḍa śālā, wrote this agreement and bond with pleasure.

Writes: Uchamta Pādē, Tulā Pādē, this agreement is true, written by the pen of Harī Pādē.

Writes: Manasā Pādē, Lālu Pādē, Atāra Pādē, this agreement is true, written by the pen of Lālu Pādē.

Witness: Bhawāni śīgha, 'Lambaradāra', 'Tālukai' Rataśaḍa, the agreement of Uchata Pādē and Manasā Pādē, etc. written by the pen of Biharidāśa.

Witness: Rajana Śīgha, 'Lambaradāra Tālukai' Rataśaḍa, the agreement of Uchata Pādē, Manasā Pādē, etc.

Signature:

Bihāridāśa Paṭawāri of Mauzā Bahādurpur, residence—'Rataśaḍa' Kaśbē Khāsa.

APPENDIX II

MODERN BHOJPURI TEXTS

Standard Bhojpuri

(For the specimen of Standard Bhojpuri (Dt. Balliā) see Appendix (a) pp. 75-81 of 'A Dialect of Bhojpuri' published in the Journal of Bihār and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Vols. XX, XXI and XXI, part III.)

(a) *Naīkī duniyā* (by Rāhul Bābā of Sāran, published by the 'Kitāb Mahal', Allahabad, 1944, pp. 3-6).

Western Bhojpuri

(b) *ḡhēlā pattā* (Banāras).

(From Śrī Shītal Tiwāri, aged 71 years, village Parnāpur, 12 miles to east of Banāras.)

(c) *tīs ke nā terah ke, i bardhā tin ke* (Banāras).

(From Śrī Nārāyan Tiwāri, aged 22, of the above village.)

(d) *nāū ke kahani* (Mirzāpur).

(From Śrī Shiva Mūrti Tripāthī, village Barowā, P.O. Chunār, 22 miles to east of Mirzāpur.)

(e) *duī sādḡhū ke kahani* (Āzamgarḡh).

(From Śrī Kāmatā Prasād Shukla, village Bhuwanchak, P.O. Dohri Ghāt, 39 miles to north-east of Āzamgarḡh.)

(f) *gawrā gawraiyā ā rājā* (Āzamgarḡh).

(From Śrī Raghu Nāth Rāi, village Akhpur, P.O. Kandhārpur, Dt. Āzamgarḡh.)

North Standard Bhojpuri

(g) *saṅkar ā pārbati jī ke kahani* (Gorakhpur).

(From Śrī Rām Dhanī Ahīr, aged 40 years, village Turkawaliā Ahirān Tōlā, 10 miles to north of Gorakhpur.)

(h) *nōn bōe ke kahani* (Gorakhpur).

(From Śrī Darbāri Thārū—sub-caste Kāthariā, aged 45 years, village Kunjalpur, District Buṭwal, 5 miles to south of Buṭwal in Nepāl Tarāi.)

(i) *bāmhan ke kahani* (Basti).

(From Śrī Jasai Kahār, aged 30 years, village Rehra near Ry. St. Uskā Bāzār.)

Nagpuriyā or Sadāni

(j) *hirni rāni* (Rānchi).

(Collected by Śrī Peter Shānti Nawarangī of Manarēsā House, Rānchi.)

(a)

naĩki duniyā

ańka I

(gīt gāwal jātiā)

naĩki duniye ke basāule,
 i kuli dukhwā jāi nā.
 jahawā nā kehuye choṭ baṛ logawā,
 sabbē bhāi bhāi nā.
 kehu ke tā gājāi bāraṅ an, dhan, sonwā,
 kēhu bhukhiyā tarphaj nā,
 kehu tā nahālā nit atar—gulālawā,
 kēhu paniyā tarsaj nā.
 kabāhū nā dekhālaj je ghamāwā batāsawā,
 nāhī jaṛāwā janlaj nā—
 koṭhāwā baĩthi ke dhokhāwā ke balwā,
 se jagāwā luṭālaj nā.
 āwā ho āwā mor bhaĩyā bahiniyā,
 sab hilimili lāgī nā,
 camāwā ke chāṛi jab kamāwā piyār hōi,
 tabe bhukhiyā bhāgī nā.

(rāmdhanī sīgh, onkar matāri jagrānī aĩlī)

(a)

*The New World**Act I**(The song is being sung)*

By building the new world,
 all these troubles will pass away.
 Where there is no one superior and inferior,
 (but) all are brothers.
 Some have heaped up corn, wealth and gold,
 (while) some are restless on account of hunger.
 Some do bathe in scented water,
 (while) some are deprived of water even.
 Those who have never faced the sun and the wind,
 (and) have not experienced cold—
 (They) sitting on their balcony and possessing the strength of fraud,
 have robbed the world.
 Come, O brothers and sisters, come,
 and let us combine together.
 When labour will be valued more than the skin,
 then only hunger will fly away.

(Enter Ramdhanī and his mother Jagrānī)

Jagrānī: babuā ! tē pahilē jab gānhi bābā ke nūn banaulā mē jehal
 galle, māri khalī, ōhū bakhat hamār karējā kāpat rahal.

Rāmdhanī: kāhē māi ? rajputin kaj karējā kāṛi laĩkā ke jehal galā
 mē ?

Jagrānī: tab jehai jāye ke bāt pahile pahil sunī nū. āu tē hamār ekajgō bēṭā, ekajgō batihar, jingī kaj awalām. ketnā atawār, ketnā ekādasī bhukhanī. bābā bajnāth kihā jāke dharnā dehnī, tab bhagwān torā ke dehalē. jab se kokhi mē allē, tab se torā ke ākhiyaṭ banā ke rakhanī. kaī bēṛ sogiyānāyī dāīnī torā par najar gāṛaṭī saṭī, mudā kālbhāiraw bābā kaj gaṇḍā, jab se torā gar mē ḍār dehnī, taṭne din se saltanat bhaīnī.

Rāmdhanī: gaṇḍā ta ketnā din se ham tur ke phēk dehnī.

Jagrānī: tū nu turi phēkalā, mudā jab le gharē sutat rahalā, tab le ham khatiyā mē bānhi dēt rahanī. ā jab patohiyā āīl ta ḍhī ke kahanī—'beṭā hēi gaṇḍā āṭhō pahār batīsō gharī pahirālē rahiḥā'. oīse ta hamār ekō bāt nā mānē, mudā i bāt mānī gaīl.

Rāmdhanī: ta māī! torā ke apnā patohiyā kē muwālā kaj dukh naīkhaj?

Jagrānī: dukh kāhe nā hōī babuā! mudā u baṛ bekahal rahē. ab ta becārī ke bhagwān le gaīlē, ab sikāit kaīlā mē aprādh bā.

Rāmdhanī: gāw ke lōg ta kahāt rahē ki jagraniye kaj mūh karjīri lekhā tīt ha. u patohiyā ke phuṭīlay ākhī dekhaj nā cāhe.

Jagrānī: kawan kahālaj hā sogiyā-nāyī, hamārā ke pahillē nu batāwē ke cāhat rahal.

Rāmdhanī: ta tē jhagāraj nu kartis?

Jagrānī: hamār ghar phorī dehalī babuā! ihaṭ gāw bhari kaj bhatarā-cabaṇī mili ke.

Rāmdhanī: mati gariyāu māī! ab ta patohiye naīkhē, ghar kaise phorihaṭ.

Jagrānī: patohi lē āībi nū.

Rāmdhanī: patoh lē āīlū ki gāw bhar kaj bhatārā cabaṇī mili ke tohārā ghar ke phorī dīhē ā tohārē ke aprādh lagaīhē, ki jagrānī egō patoh ke ta muwāulī, ab dusarō ke muwāwaj cāhat bāṛī. ā katahū patoh jabbar mili gaīl? hamārā ta kaj kaj dinlē gharē nā āwaj kē parajīlā. ā jo jhōṭājhōṭī ka ke hamārā buṛhiyā matārī ke muwā delas, ta ham kā karab?

Jagrānī: tōr gun ham mānab babuā! tē kabō mehrārū ke pach nā lehlē; gāw bhar ke putkāṭī patohiye lēkhā toroke bigāre cahālī, bākī tōr neti tanikō nā ḍīgal.

Rāmdhanī: kaise ḍīgit māī! tē hamārā ke pāli-posi ke baṛ kaīlē, ki tōr patōh? ā mehrārū ke muālā par ketnā mehrārū milihē, mudā matārī muālā par matārī nā nu mili.

Jagrānī: My son! when you went to the jail in the first 'Salt Satyāgrah' (non-co-operation movement) of Gāndhī Bābā, and were beaten, at that time my heart was trembling.

Rāmdhanī : Why, mother ? Should the heart of a Rājput woman tremble for her son being sent to jail ?

Jagrānī : I heard something about jail then, for the first time. Moreover you are my only son, the only wick, the only support of my life. I observed fast on many Sundays and 'ekādaśī' days (eleventh day of the bright part of the month). I threw myself prostrate before Lord Baijnath and then God was pleased to bless me with you. Since the time you came in my womb, I took care of you like pupils of the eyes. Many times the wicked witches cast evil glances at you. I felt quite relieved only when I put the black thread of Kāl Bhairava (a god) round your neck.

Rāmdhanī : Long long ago, I broke and threw away that black thread.

Jagrānī : You threw it away, but as long as you were sleeping inside the house, I used to tie that thread by the cot. When the daughter-in-law came, I said to her, 'Put this black thread round your neck, all the twenty-four hours.' Ordinarily she did not listen to my advice but she (very readily) accepted this.

Rāmdhanī : Mother ! do you not feel the death of your daughter-in-law ?

Jagrānī : Why not, my son ? But she was very disobedient. Now God has taken her away and it is a sin (now) to talk ill of her.

Rāmdhanī : The people of the village used to say that Jagrānī's tongue was bitter like 'karjiri' (a very bitter plant). She did not like to see her daughter-in-law even with broken eyes.

Jagrānī : Who the wicked had said this ? You ought to have informed me earlier.

Rāmdhanī : Then you would have quarrelled.

Jagrānī : My son ! all these killers of their husbands of the village brought quarrel in my family.

Rāmdhanī : O mother ! do not abuse them. Now your daughter-in-law is no more ; how will they bring in quarrel in the family ?

Jagrānī : I will certainly bring a daughter-in-law.

Rāmdhanī : If you bring a daughter-in-law all those killers of their husbands of the village will bring quarrel in your house and they will put the blame on your head that Jagrānī had already killed one daughter-in-law and wants to kill the other. And if the daughter-in-law happens to be a strong woman, she will quarrel by catching (your) hair-locks. What shall I do then when she (daughter-in-law) will kill my mother ? (For as you know) I have often to absent myself from home for many days.

Jagrānī : My son ! I acknowledge your quality. You never favoured your wife. All the murderers of their sons (an abusive term) of the village tried to spoil you like the daughter-in-law, but your mind was never poisoned.

Rāmdhanī : How could I be led astray, mother? You have reared me up and not your daughter-in-law. (Moreover) after the death of the wife many wives can be had but a mother cannot be had if she is once lost.

Jagrānī : (ākhi mē lōr bhari ke) aīsan bēṭā kawānō mahtārī ke bā ? bhuīlī mē ta nā hawaj. bēṭā ! pāc baris hō gail, patohiyā ke muālā ā ketnā beṭhā āwat bāran. u harpālpur mē hamārā nāihārā ke beṭī nimman bā. ehī sāl biyāh hōi jāw.

Rāmdhanī : jo mahinnā mē i pāco sāt dīn tohārā hāth ke banāwal bhāt milatā, ēhū ke choṛāwe ke man hōy, ta biāh ke bāt karihā. bhalē bārah baris ke nātī bā. ohī ke kāl-bhajraw ke gaṇḍā pahirāwā.

Jagrānī : u gaṇḍā pahirī, okar calē ta ham kawānō barāt nā kare pāl. tīn bēṛ palākhāt pawātē haluā mē nun ḍāl dehlās. bēṭā ! barāju nā, surujnarāyan ke barāt torlā mē baṛ pāp hōlā.

Rāmdhanī : tuhī barajā. tohrāe nu muhē bēsi lāgal bā.

Jagrānī : (With tears in her eyes) Has any mother got such a good son? There is none here in Bhuilī (the name of her village). My son! five years had elapsed since the death of my daughter-in-law. During these five years, many men who have daughters (to marry) have been coming to see you. There is a very nice girl in the village of my father named Haripālpur. Let the marriage be solemnized this year.

Rāmdhanī : I get cooked rice prepared by you some five or seven times a month; if you want to deprive me of this even, then you talk of marriage. Well, you have a grandson of twelve years age; put a black thread of (god) Kāl Bhairava round his neck.

Jagrānī : Will he put on a black thread? If he is allowed to have his own ways, I cannot observe any festival and fast. He has thrown salt thrice in the porridge when my attention was diverted for a little while. O my son! check him. It brings great sin, if the fast in honour of god Sun is discontinued.

Rāmdhanī : Better, you check him. He has grown much familiar with you.

(b) *ḍhēlā pattā*

ēk rahe ḍhēlā ēk rahe pattā. dunō mē bhayāl jhagārā. ḍhēlāwā kahe ham baṛā, patawā kahē ham baṛā. ta u duno sulāh kailē. ḍhēlāwā kahalesi ki ānhī āi ta ham tohāre upar caṛhi baiṭhābi ki tu uṛabajnā. pattā kahālesi ki pānī āi ta tohāre upar ham caṛhi baiṭhab ki tu bhījabā nā. etane mē ānhī āyal aṇ pānī āyal. pattā ta uṛi gayāl ā ḍhēlā ha tawān bhīji ke gali gayāl. jāisan oh logan ke taklīph mē bītal oīsan kehu ke na bitē.

(b) *The Story of a Clod and a Leaf*

There were a clod and a leaf. Both quarrelled among themselves. The clod claimed to be superior while the leaf claimed its own superiority. They, then, made a compromise. The clod said, 'When there will be a storm, I will place myself on you so that you may not be carried away by

the storm.' The leaf said, 'When there will be rain, I will cover you so that you may not be drenched.' In the meantime, storm and rain came together. The leaf was blown up and the clod being drenched was softened. No one should ever experience such trouble as they did.

(c) tis ke nā terāh ke,
 i bardhā tin ke.

ek kisān ek bayal kharidāle āwat rahe. ta payāre mē osē tin ṭhaḡ milālaj. ēk bāp du laikā. ta buṛhāū apane lerikan se kahālaj 'i bardhā kawano tarah se lei lēbe ke cāhī.' ta unukar laṛikā duno kahālē ki 'hamāhan dām cali ke karat haī. tu cali ke āgē baīṭhā. hamāhan tohke tisaraīt mānāb. tū jawān taī karābā, otane ke bardhā mili.'

buṛhāū jāi ke āgē baīṭhalaj. unukar laikā jāi ke kisān se dām lagālaj karē. ki bardhā ketāne ke kharidālā hā. ta u kahē tīs ke. ta u kahālaj, becabaj. kahē kāhē dām ṭhik se daj tohī ke daj deī.

ta u kahālaj, 'e bardhā ke dām terāh rupayā dēb.' ta u kahālaj ki kehu purānā adimī ke tisaraīt mānā. terāh ke māl hōy ta terāhe ke deī deī.' u lōḡ gayāl buṛhāū kihā. sāmne jāi ke sab bāt kahi dehālaj. ta u kahālaj ki 'jawān ham kahī tawān tohan lōḡ manābaj.' duno jane kahālaj 'mānabi'. ta kahālaj ki 'na i bardhā tīs ke na terah ke, i bardhā tin rupayā ke.' tin rupayā ke deī ke u baradh lei lehālaj.

(c) *Neither for Thirty nor for Thirteen,
 This Ox is worth Rupees Three only.*

A farmer was coming with an ox which he had purchased. He met three 'Thugs'—a father and his two sons—on the way. The father said to his sons, 'We should take his ox anyhow from this man! The sons said, 'We are going to higgie the price of it, you go ahead and sit down. We shall make you a third party. As you will settle the price so we shall pay.'

The old man went ahead and sat alone. His sons went to the farmer and began to higgie the price, 'What have you paid for this ox?' He said, 'I have bought this ox for thirty (rupees).' He said, 'Will you sell it?' He said, 'If you will pay the suitable price, I shall sell the ox to you.'

Then, they said, 'We shall pay thirteen rupees for this ox.' He asked them to have an old man to be a third party. If the ox was worth thirteen (rupees), it would be sold for that. Then they went to the old man and told everything to him. Then he (the old man) asked, 'Will you accept what I say?' Both of them said, 'Yes, we will accept.' Then he said, 'This ox costs neither thirty nor thirteen, but it is worth only three rupees.' They paid three rupees and took (bought) the ox.

(d) nāū ke kahani

ek ṭhe rehāl nāū. ta u rājā ke bār banāwaj gayal. ēk juār tak bār banāwat rahal. tab rājā khus ho ke ek bighā khēt dehālen. ta u nāū ghare ākē pharāsā leke khēt khanne gayāl. jab ādhā khēt khan cukaḡ tab sāt ṭhē cōr aīlān. aū nāū se kahe lagālan ki e khete mē sāt haṇḍā rupayā gaṛal bāya. ii āwā ham khañī. tab nāū corāwan ke pharusā de dehāles ā corāwan khēt khane lagālan. tab o khete mē kucho nāhī nikālal. tab cōr bhāḡ gaīlan.

tab nauā oh khete mē gohū boāles. ū gohū jab pakke suru bhayāl tab uhe cōr kāṭe bade aḷan. nauā ke i mālum bhayal ki cōr khet kāṭe āyal haēn. tab u bīc khete mē khaṭiā le jā ke sutal. jab ādhī rāt hō gayāl tab cārō ōrī se gohū kūṭaj lagalan. jab thōṛī sā rah gayāl, tab u nauā cillāyāl au corwā bhagalan.

tab nauā socles ki ab hamē kāṭe ke nāhī bhayāl. kharihāne mē le cal ke dāī. tab u kul gōhū kharihāne mē le āyal. aur dāī dū ke ghare lī āyal. u gohū ke koṭhilā mē bhar dehles.

tab uhe corwā gohū corāwe bade pher aḷan. nauā ke i mālum ho gayāl. tab ohī koṭhilā ke la-gge khaṭiā bichā ke ā ekṭhe churā le ke sutal. tab ū cōr aḷan. omē se ēk cōr dusarke cōr se kahāles ki koṭhālāwā mē halā. tab u cōr ō koṭhilā mē hal gayal. nauā chūrā se o cōr ke nāk kaṭles. aīsaḥī sab cōranka nāk kaṭles. bihān dekhles ki sab cōr mar gaḷlan.

ōhī bakhat ek ḍōm āyāl tab nauā kahales ki ekṭhē murdā hamāre gharē bā. oke phēki āwā. tab tohke āṭh ānā paīsā dēb. u ḍōm ek murdā ke phēk āyal. tab ḍōm nauā se paīsā māgles. okārē pahile nauā dūsar murdā lī āke rakh dehles au kahles ki dēkhā kahā phēkulā. abahī ta baṭālaj bā. tab ḍōm ohū ke phēki āyal. nauā tisārka murdā lī ākē rākhī dehles. aūr ḍōm se phir uhe bāt kahles. aīsaḥī cha murdā phēkwawāles. ḍōm sab se pāche wāle murdā ke ohī jagah se phēkles. u murdā jā ke ek admī ke ūpar gīral. tab u admī ḍōm ke bahut bigral. tab u ḍōm bhāg gayal ā nauā ke paīsā bāc gayal.

(d)

The Story of a Barber

There lived a barber. He went to shave the king. He had been shaving him for half the day. Then, the king being pleased, gave him one 'bighā' of land. Then the barber returned and taking a spade went to dig his field. When he had completed the digging of half of his field, there came seven thieves and began to tell the barber, 'Seven jars full of rupees are buried in this field. Give the spade to us to dig them out.' Then the barber gave the spade to the thieves and they began to dig the field. But nothing came out from that field. Then the thieves fled away.

The barber sowed wheat in that field. When the crop was ready, those thieves came to reap it. The barber came to know that the thieves had come to reap it. Then he put his cot in the middle of the field and slept there. When it came to be twelve o'clock at night, they began to reap the wheat from all the four sides. When a little was left, the barber raised hue and cry and the thieves fled away.

Then the barber thought that he was saved from the trouble of reaping (the field). (And he said), 'Let me take it to the barn and thrash it. He took all the wheat to the barn and brought it home after thrashing it. He put the wheat in the store-house.

Then those thieves again came to steal away wheat. The barber came to know this. He slept on the cot near that store-house keeping a razor with him. Then those thieves came. One of them told the other, 'Get into the store-house.' The thief got into it. The barber cut the nose of that thief with his razor. In this way, he chopped off the noses of all the thieves. In the morning he found that all the thieves were dead.

Then came a 'Dom' (a man of very low caste). The barber told him, 'There is a corpse in my house, go and throw it away and then I will pay you eight annas for that. That 'Dom' threw away one corpse, returned back and demanded money. Before this, the barber brought another

corpse there and pointed out that he had not thrown (the corpse). It is lying there. Then the 'Dom' threw it away. The barber placed before him the third corpse and told him the same thing. In this way, he managed to get rid of six corpses. The 'Dom' threw the last corpse from the same spot. That corpse fell on a man. The man got very angry with the 'Dom'. Then the 'Dom' fled away and the money of the barber was saved.

(e)

duī sādhū ke kahanī

ek din ek bābū ke ihā duī sādhū cahūpalē. bābū dono jane ka baṛī āw bhagat kaillē. jab samjhā bhaīl ta ek sādhū kullā pharākit hōwē khātir mayadān mē gaillē. tab dosārā sādhū se bābū puchalē ki ū sādhū je bāhar gaīl bāṛe u kahā tak paṛhal likhal bāṛē. sādhū kahale ki u ta gadāhā haīe. okare kuchu na āwat. u ta hamār kharāū ā jhōri dhoelā. kichu der bād jab pahilā sādhū āi gaillē tab dūsar sādhū bāhar gaillē. tab bābū oh sādhū se bhī uhe bāt puchalē ki u sādhū kahā tak paṛhale likhale bāṛē. jabāb milal ki u kuchu nā jānātā. u ta belkul bayal hā. jab ham sādhū nā rahālī ta hamāre gharē u gāin ke carawāh rahal. okar sajjī buddhi byalak ho gaīlī hā.

ekāre bād jab duno sādhū ēk jagō bhaīlē ta bābū se bhōjan banāwē khātīn ujur kaillē. bābū kahalē, 'ham abbē intijām karilā.' i kahi ke apāne nokaran se ek moṭarī bhūsā ā ek moṭarī ghāsi unhan logan ke khāe khātīr bhejalē. sādhū lōg bābū kihā dāūral gaillē kahalē ki sarkār ! i kaīsan aṭ-paṭ kaīl gaīl hā. bābū jabāb dihalē ki jab ham raūrā duno jane se ek ek kaī ke āṛ mē dosārā ke bārē me puchālī ki u sādhū kaīsan paṛhal likhal bātē ta dosāre khātīr āp sabh ihe jabāb dihalī ki u ta bayal, u ta gadāhā hā. ta ab lēī na, ek jane bhūsā khāī ēk janē ghāsi.

(e)

The Story of Two Ascetics

One day two ascetics went to a gentleman. The gentleman welcomed them warmly. When evening approached, one of the ascetics went out in the field to answer nature's call. The gentleman asked the other ascetic, 'The ascetic who has gone out, how far has he read.' He said, 'He is an ass and he knows nothing. He carries my wooden sandals and wallet.' After a while, when that ascetic came in, the second one went out. The gentleman put the same question to him, viz. how far that ascetic has read. 'He knows nothing and is an ox (block-head),' was the reply. When I was not an ascetic, he was a mere herdsman at my place in charge of my cows. His mind had become ox-like.

After this when those two ascetics came together, they requested the gentleman to manage for the food. The gentleman said, 'I shall manage everything immediately.' After saying so, he sent one bundle of grass and one bundle of husk for their meal through his servants. The ascetics ran to the gentleman and said, 'Sir, what confusion have you created?' The gentleman replied, 'When I enquired of you each, one by one, separately about the other—how far the other has read—both of you made this answer "he is an ox, he is an ass", then one of you take husk and the other grass.'

(f)

gawārā gawaraiyā ā rājā

ek thē gawaraiyā rahalī ā ekthē gawārā rahē. dono ghūrē par carat rahatāī. ta unhanē ke ekthē rūī ke phāhā milal. ta kuli le gaīlē dhunīyā kihā. ta kahalē ki e dhunīyā ekē dhunī de ādhā tāj

lê ádhâ maj lëb. ta u dhun dihalaj. ta ádhâ u lehalê á ádhâ u lehalê. ta pheno u kul gallej jolâhâ kihâ. á kahale ki eke bini de, ádhâ taj le ádhâ maj lëb, ta u bin dihalaj. ta ádhâ u lehalê á ádhâ u lehalê. ta phinô kul lê galjê darji kihâ. ta kahalej ki ekar ðopi si dê, ádhâ taj lê ádhâ maj lëb. ta u si dehâlej.

ta ekthê ðopi u gawarañawâ ke de dehâlej. ta u kapâre par de ke galli rājā ke khapārā par. ta kahalesi ki e rājā ! hamāre aisan tore ðopi na hay. tab rājā apane sipāhi se kehâlej ki ekari ðopi chori lê āwā. ta sipāhiyā chori le āyal. ta duno kahâlej ki rājā ke dhan ghañ gayal mori ðopiā chor lehâlej. ta phino rājā okar ðopiā dê dehâlej. ta āpan ðopiā le ke kahâlej je rājā mose ðar gayalaj mōr ðopiā de dehâlej.

(f) *A Cock-Sparrow, a Hen-Sparrow and a King*

There lived a hen-sparrow and a cock-sparrow. They were picking food on a dunghill. There they got a piece of cotton. They took it to a carder and gave it to him to card the same and said, 'Take half of it for yourself and the remaining half, we shall take.' Then he carded it and divided it half and half. They, then, went to a weaver and asked him to weave it, promising him to give half share. Then he wove it and took the half and gave the remaining half to them. They, then, went to a tailor and asked him to sew caps and to take half and to give the remaining half to them. He, therefore, prepared the caps.

Then, the tailor gave a cap to the sparrow. Then putting it on, she flew to the roof of the king's palace and said, 'O king, you do not possess a cap like me.' The king asked one of his sepoy to seize the cap from her. The sepoy seized the cap. Then they both said, 'The wealth of the king has decreased and so he has seized our caps.' Thereupon, the king returned their caps. After taking their caps, they said, 'The king is afraid of us, therefore he has returned our caps.'

(g) *Saṅkar ā pārbatī ji ke kahānī*

Kāsi ji nahān lagal. ta gaūrā pārbatī saṅkar ji se bolāi ki sab nahāe jātā. āwā calī nahāe. Saṅkar ji kahalej je sab nahāe nahī jāta; kahū lākh mē ēk jātā. ta gaūrā pārbatī kahali je calā calī nahāe.

ta saṅkaro ji pārbatī duno jane calale nahāe. calat cali galle kuch dūr. ta rāhē mē pāyārē mē kōrhī kaj bhēs dhañ ke bañhi gallē. ta gaūrā pārbatī kapārā le ke marj lagali pochaj. ta je bhar nahaniyā jā rahālej rāh dhañ te kahātāñ ki kōrhī kā sañe kā bañi āwā calī nahāe.

ta kuch bilam kā bād ekthō brāmhan aļaj. ta kahalej je calā calī nahāe. ta gaūrā pārbatī ji bolāi je apāne pati ke kaise chori ke calī nahāe. ta brāmhan kahale je ham le calabi ghartuiyā uthāi ke. ta barbasal saṅkar ji ke uthāi lihālej. ta kuchu duri jab gallaj je saṅkar ji kahālej, 'hamaj utāri dyā.' ta brāmhan ke kahi dihalaj calī jā nahāe. ta jab brāmhan calī gallaj ta saṅkar ji bolālej gaūrā pārbatī se je dekhā, sab nahāe nā jātā. ek brāmhan nahāe jātbā. tab antradhyān ho gallaj.

(g) *The Story of Saṅkar and Pārbatī*

Once there was a bathing day at Kāsi. Then Gaūrā Pārbatī said to Saṅkar, 'All are going to bathe. Let us go to take a dip.' Saṅkar said,

'All are not going to bathe; perhaps one among thousand is going (to bathe).' Then Gaurā Pārbatī said, 'Let us go to bathe.'

Then both Saṅkar and Pārbatī started for bathing. They walked and walked some distance and (Saṅkar) sat by the side of the road having disguised as a leper. Gaurā Pārbatī, then, began to clean the wound with a piece of cloth. All those going by the road to bathe began to say, 'Why are you (here) with the leper? Come and let us go to bathe.'

After a short while, a Brāhman came and then said, 'Come with me to bathe.' Then Gaurā Pārbatī said, 'How can I go to bathe leaving my husband (all alone).' Then the Brāhman said, 'I will carry him on my back.' (He) took Saṅkar forcibly (although he was unwilling). When he covered some distance, Saṅkar asked the Brāhman to leave him there and he said to the Brāhman, 'Go, and bathe.' When the Brahman had left away, Saṅkar said to Gaurā Pārbatī, 'Look here, all are not going to bathe, only this Brāhman is going to bathe.' Then he disappeared.

(h)

nōn bōe ke kahanī

ek ṭhō dāgboriā rahe. ta u duī bhāī rahale. ta kawāno baniā se puchālaī ki non bōe ta kaīsan hoy. ta u baniā kahalis ki khub palihar khet banā ke tab oh mē bōā ta nōn khūb jabar hōī.

tab onhane duno bhāī khub jōte lagālaī. ta khūb palihar khēt banaīlē. ta nōn boīlē palihar mē. tab u nōn kā jāmē jāmal mōthā. ta mothā ta khub jāmal. ta bōṭ khub lagale mōthā khāe.

tab ēk bhāī kahātā ki nōn khāī-letāṭaī. ab bōtan ke māre cale ke cāhī. ta duno bhāī tīr kamāṭhā leī ke calālaī nōn rakhāwē. tab ehar ohar lagālaī bōṭ urāwē.

tab jab hāke lagālaī ta ēk bhāī kā chātī par bōṭ baīṭhal. tab ēk bhāī siṭī mār ke balailasi ki mārā ehe bōṭ baīṭhal bā chātī par. bas, u bhāī kā kaīlis ki tīr kamāṭhā tān ke marlis. bas lāgal tīr bhāī kā chātī mahē. bōṭ urī gail ā bhāī gir gail. tab u bhāī jāke jab apānā bhāī ke ṭōlis tab kahāt bāy ki nōn nāī bōe ke. u ta bhāī mārathaj.

(h)

The Story of the sowing of Salt

There was a Daṅgaboriā (a sub-caste among Thārū). He had a brother. He asked a Baniyā (merchant), 'What will happen if salt is sown?' Then that Baniyā said, 'After having prepared the land thoroughly by keeping it fallow, sow salt, then there will be a very rich crop.'

After this, those two brothers began to till the land thoroughly and prepared the ground. They sowed salt in the fallow field. How could salt be grown; there grew Cyperus rotundus in place of the salt and it grew abundantly. Then parrots flocked over it and began to eat it.

One of the two brothers said, 'They are eating away the salt. Now we should proceed to kill them.' Then the two brothers started with their bow and arrow for protecting the salt. They began to chase them away.

While they were chasing them, one of the parrots sat on the chest of one of the brothers. He whistled and called his brother to kill that parrot sitting on his chest. Instantly he drew his bow and discharged his arrow against the parrot. The arrow pierced through his brother's chest. The parrot flew away and the brother fell down. He said, when he went there and felt his brother, 'The salt should not be sown. It kills a brother.'

(i)

brāmhān ke kahānī

ek brāmhān rahalaṭ ta bahut garib rahalaṭ. ta dīn bhar māṅgē ḡgē ta khāe bhare nāī hōy. ta unke paṇḍitāin kahālin ki kahī pardes se kamā laūtā ta khātī, arām se rahātī.

ta pāṛit mahārāj kā kahatāṭaṭ ki rāh ke kharcā barcā de dā. ta pāṛitāin satuā pīs ke gāṭhiā ḡṭhiā ke dehlīn. ta paṇḍit ek jaṅgal mē gailaṭ. bīc jaṅgal mē ek kūā paraī. paṇḍit kahalāṭ ki kuchu khā o lēī ta calī, lōṭā ḍorī laṭ ke pānī bhare legalaṭ.

kuā mē dekhalaṭ cār jānawar gīral rahalaṭ. ek kauā, ek siār, ek sāp, ek kāyath. ta sāp a siār a kauā kahatāṭaṭ, he bābā hammē nikārā. ta oh mē se siār kahatāṭaṭ ki bābā sabkē nikārā, e kāyathā ke na nikārā. ta paṇḍit kahalāṭ ki i hamār dharam nāī hōy ki sāp, kauā, siār nikārī ā manāī na nikārī. ta kauā, siār kahatāṭaṭ ki bābā jō nāī manabā ta ēkar phal phīchē paībā.

ḍārīāī lihalaṭ kuā ke bāhar. tab omē se siār kahatāṭaṭ bābā hamārē mānī par āyau a kauā kahatāṭaṭ, bābā hamārē ṭhāṭe par āyau. sāp kahatāṭaṭ, bābā hamārē bilī par āyau ā kāyath kahatāṭaṭ, bābā hamārē makān par āyau.

ekare bād duī ek rōj kā bād bābā gailaṭ siārū kā mānī par. siārū baṛē khātīr bāt se baīṭhawalāṭ. pānī onī dihalāṭ. khlāwalāṭ, piāwalāṭ. rātī bhar rahalaṭ. sabere siārū se kahatāṭaṭ ki baccā ab ham calab gharē. siārū ek koṭhārī khōl dihalāṭ. ta oh mē sonē ke īṭ rahal. ta kahalāṭ bābā eh mē se jawan toh se jāī tawan laṭ jāy. ta bābā cār pāc īṭ tar upar dhai ke uṭhāwe lagālaṭ ta uṭhē nāī. ta oke phīnu utār dihalāṭ kul. ek ṭhō rahi gail ta baṛē baṛē muskilan uṭhawalāṭ. laṭ ke makān par gailaṭ paṇḍitāin dekhālin. bahut khus bhaīlin. ta khub maje mē cale lāgal ā makān banē onē lāgal.

okare bād phīn paṇḍitāin se kahatāṭaṭ, ki cēlā kihā ham jāb. ta paṇḍitāin kahālin, 'jā'. ta gailaṭ sāpe kihā. uho khātīr bāt kaīlis. rāt bhar rahalaṭ. sabērē kahālaṭ, baccā ab makān par jāb. tab sāpaū bābā ke kuch rupayā dihlāṭ. bābā uhā se apane makān par aīlaṭ. sāpaū bābā se kahalāṭ ki kahī gārḥ awāsān paṛe ta nāw hamman ke laṭ lihā. tahā juṭ jāb. ta gharē aīlaṭ paṇḍit rupayā paīsā laṭ ke. ta paṇḍitāin khus bhaīlin.

bihān bhar paṇḍit kahatāṭaṭ, 'ek cēlā kihā aūr jāe ke bāy. ta paṇḍitāin kahālin ki acchā jā. ta gailaṭ kauā kihā. kauā peṛe par ṭhāt lagawalāṭ rahal. ohī kā nicē paṇḍit bābā kahatāṭaṭ, kaīsē āī. ta kauā kahatāṭaṭ ki carḥī āwā. ta paṇḍit bābā gailaṭ uhā. khātīr bāt kauā rām kaīlaṭ, paṇḍit jī rāt bhar rahālaṭ. sabere kahatāṭaṭ, baccā ab apnē makān par jāb. ta kauā kahatāṭaṭ, bābā ṭhōrē gharī baīṭhi jā. abbe ham āīlā. ta kauā uṛat uṛat ek rājā kā makān par gailaṭ. rānī sāhab nahāt rahāṭ. āpan hār khūṭī par ṭāgale rahē. kauā rām bāṛerī par se tajbījat rahē. bāṛerī par se kauā orwānī par aīlaṭ. palākhāt pawalaṭ. ṭhōre mē hār laṭ ke uṛī gailaṭ. calī gailaṭ apanē ṭhāṭe par. bābā ke dihalāṭ. bābā uhā se apnē makān par aīlaṭ. paṇḍitāin ke dihalāṭ. paṇḍitāin apnē gāṭaī mē pahīr lihālin.

(i)

The Story of a Brahmin

There was a Brahmin who was very poor. He begged for the whole day, even then, it was not sufficient for him. Then his wife said, 'If you

could have earned something from the outside, I would have subsisted on it and lived comfortably.'

Then the Brahmin said (lit. says), 'Provide me with the expenses of the way.' Then his wife prepared the powder of the parched gram and made it into a bundle. Then the Brahmin went into a forest. There was a well in the heart of the forest. The Brahmin thought of taking something there before proceeding further. He took out his 'Lōṭā' (a metal pot) and string and went to the well to draw water.

He looked into the well and saw four creatures fallen into that well. There were a crow, a jackal, a snake and a 'Kāyasth' (a man of the writer caste). The snake, the jackal and the crow requested (lit. request) him to take them out. Then the jackal said (lit. says), 'Take all of us out except this "Kāyasth"'. Then the Brahmin said (lit. says), 'It is not my duty that I should take out the snake, the jackal and the crow and leave the man there.' Then the crow and the jackal said (lit. says), 'If you will not accept this (our proposal), then you will reap the consequences afterwards.'

The Brahmin took all of them out of the well. From amongst them, the jackal says, 'Sir, come to my burrow.' And the crow says, 'Sir, come to my nest.' The snake says, 'Sir, come to my hole.' And the 'Kāyasth' says, 'Sir, come to my house.'

After a day or two, the Brahmin went to the burrow of the jackal. The jackal welcomed him warmly and gave him breakfast and food and made him eat and drink. The Brahmin stayed there for a night. In the morning he said (lit. says) to the jackal, 'Now I will go home.' The jackal opened a room which contained the bricks of gold and then said to him, 'Sir, take as many as you can carry.' Then the Brahmin placed four bricks one on the other and tried to carry them but could not do so. He, therefore, put them on the ground and carried only one and that also not without difficulty. He taking them reached home, his wife saw that and she became very glad. Then their days passed happily and the construction of a house was begun.

Again the Brahmin said (lit. says) to his wife, 'I will go to a disciple.' His wife said to him, 'Go.' Then he went to the snake. He also welcomed him warmly. The Brahmin stayed there for the night and early in the morning he said, 'My boy! now I will go home.' The snake offered him some rupees. From there the Brahmin returned to his place. The snake requested him to remember his (snake's) name whenever he was placed in any difficulty and trouble. There they would all assemble. Then the Brahmin returned to his house with the money and his wife became very glad.

Next morning the Brahmin says (to his wife), 'I have to go to one more disciple.' His wife said, 'Very well, go to him.' He then went to the crow. The crow had his nest on the tree. The Brahmin standing under the tree said (lit. says) to the crow, 'How should I come to you?' The crow pointed out to climb and the Brahmin went there. The crow welcomed him. He stayed there for the night and said (lit. says), 'I will now go home.' Then the crow said (lit. says), 'Sir, kindly wait for a while. I am coming soon.' The crow flying and flying went to a king's palace. The queen was taking her bath. She had placed her necklace at a peg. The crow was watching it from the roof. The crow flew from the roof to the eaves of the palace. He got the opportunity and taking the necklace in his beak, he flew to his nest. He offered that to the Brahmin. The Brahmin went home from there and handed over that necklace to his wife. His wife put on that necklace round her neck.

biḥān paṇḍit kahatāṭaj, ek cōlā kihā aūr jāe ke bā. paṇḍitāin

kahlin acchā jā. jāte jāte pandit bābā gailāj, kayathu kā makān par. ta kayathū dekhleḷ bābā ke. tab kahatāṭeḷ, acchā kaīl ālī gail. hamāre bihān puḷā caḥī ta ēk āp āy gailī, ekke hame khoje ke pari. tab lāi ke okharī dhaīlis ki bābā āj caḥāīb tuhaḷ. ta bābā baḥe sake mē parleḷ. puḷā ke jab bakhat ālī tab kahaleḷ ki āju kauā hōṭeḷ, siār hoteḷ, sāp hōṭeḷ ta hamār jān baci jāt. tab kauā siār, sāp apne apne ghar se calaleḷ. ta kauā ēk āgārā āgi baḡal mē daboṭi le aīleḷ. kayathū ke ghar mē khōsi dihleḷ. makān lāḡal jaraḷ. ta kayathū ke ghar bhar ciju nikāle lāḡaleḷ. puḷā ke caḥal band hoī gail. ta siārū, sāpaū duārī par gailēḷ. ta sāpaū kāṭe par raheḷ manaīn ke ā siārū ghīsrāy ghīsrāy ke bigahā bhar par kaḷ dē. tab siārū sāpaū, kauā kahatāṭeḷ, bābā se ehī nātē kahat rahālī ki na nikārā bābā kūwā mē se. tawāne ke phal ihē tu pāwat rahalā. ta bābā kahaleḷ, baccā tu lōḡ na hōṭe ta āju hamār jān ī laḷ lēt. ta sab lōḡ apnē apnē makān par gailēḷ.

Next morning the Brahmin said (lit. says), 'I have to go to one more disciple.' His wife said, 'Very well, go there.' The Brahmin went on and on and reached the home of the 'Kāyasth'. The 'Kāyasth' saw the Brahmin and said (lit. says), 'You did well to come over here. Tomorrow we shall have to perform a sacrifice. Now you have come, I will have to search only one more.' He, then, brought a wooden mortar (and said to him) 'Sir, I will sacrifice you today.' The Brahmin was very much puzzled. When the time for sacrifice approached, he thought within himself, 'If the crow, the jackal and the snake were present, my life would have been saved.' Then the crow, the jackal and the snake started from their respective places. The crow brought a spark in his beak and fixed it in the house of the 'Kāyasth'. The house caught fire and all the inmates of the family began to take the things out. The sacrifice ceremony was stopped. The jackal and the snake went in front of the door. The snake began to bite the inmates of the house and the jackal dragged them at a distance of a 'bigah'. Then the jackal, the snake and the crow said (lit. says) (to the Brahmin), 'It was because of this that we told you not to take this fellow (Kāyasth) out of the well. Now you are reaping the consequences of that.' The Brahmin said, 'My boys! had you been not present here, this man then might have killed me.' Then all went to their respective places.

(j)

hirnī rānī

ek ṭho rājā rahe, se rōj eke ṭhin pesāb karat rahe. se jag dublā ḡhās khaūb lahlalāī bāḡhal rahe. egoḡ hirnī carte carte huā jāe pohācalak āur u ṭhin kar ḡhās ke carlak to cahaīṭ ḡelak, āur rōj u ṭhin carek jāek lāḡlak. carte carte bhāri ḡōḡ bhelak, āur jekhan dīn purlak to ek ṭho manwā chauā ke janmālak.

hote hote chaūā seyān bhe ḡhelāk. ek dīn māē-hār ke puchlak ki 'mā, mor bāp kahā āhē?' hirnī kaīh ḡhurālak ki 'bēṭā, tor bāp ī rājī kar rājā hekaē. chōṛā kehlak, 'mā, mōē mor bāp ṭhan jābū.' hirnī māē jabāb delak, 'niḡī bēṭā, tor bāp kar rānī-man āhaē āur ḡaḡh mē umānak chaūā-man āhaē; se toke bes nī karbaē.' chōṛā kahlak, 'je hoi se hoi, e mā moke jāek de. mōē rājā ṭhin nokrī karbū.' māē-hār jāek delak.

hirnī kar beṭā jāṭē jāṭē rājā kar darbār mē jāe pohācalak. rājā darbār mē bālsal rahē. chōṛā jāeke salām kariak. se ḡōṭā darbār kar admī khaṛ chōṛā kar cehārā ke deīkh ke cakrit bhē ḡelaē. ukar cehārā rājā kar cehārāe lakhe rahē. rājāo ukar cehārā ke deīkh ke tājub karek lāḡlak. bhaguāe ke chōṛā kar mūh dekhek āur

socek lāgalak ki, 'i kahā kar chaūwā heke? mōr bēpā-man tō mahāl mā āhaē āur bēs pindhahaē-oīdhahaē. i tō garīb chaūwā bujhāelā. magar mūl cehārā to eke āhē. se i kā bāt hēkē?'

(j)

The Doe-Queen

There was a Rājā who daily urinated in the same place. On that spot 'durvā' grass had grown in great abundance. A doe while grazing arrived there and having eaten the grass of that place, grew accustomed to it, so that she daily began to resort to that place to graze. Thus grazing she became pregnant and when the time of delivery came, she gave birth to a human child.

In course of time the child grew in age. One day he asked his mother, 'Mother, where is my father?' The doe answered, 'Son, thy father has queens and they have their children in the palace; therefore they shall not treat thee well.' The boy said, 'Happen what may, mother, allow me to go. I shall serve under the Rājā.' The mother allowed him to go.

The doe's son went away (lit. going and going) and arrived at the Rājā's court. The Rājā was then holding court. The boy having approached saluted him. At this all the people of the court, seeing the face of the boy, were greatly astonished. His face was similar to that of the Rājā. The Rājā also began to wonder on seeing his features. He was thunderstruck and continued looking at the face of the boy and thought, 'Whence is this child? My sons are in the palace and they are well-dressed. This one seems to be a poor child. But the face is the same as theirs. What then is the explanation of this?'

rājā chōṛā ke puchālak, 'toē kahā le awāthis chaūwā?' chōṛā kahālak, 'garīb newāj, mōr ghar d̥heir dūr āhē. moē sarkār-hajur kar durā kono kām bheṭek āehō.' rājā puchālak, 'kā kām karbē?' chōṛā jabāb delak, 'kono nokri mōr pārek lāik mili to karbū.'

rājā āpan dewān musadī āur darbār kar admī-man ka puchālak ki, 'i chaūā kaisan diselā?' dewān kahe, 'garīb parwar, kaise kahū? kahek ni banat-he.' rājā pharmālak, 'kahek mē kā āhe? kahu ni.' dewān kahalak, 'garīb newāj, kasur bakāsal jāi, to kahō.' rājā kahālak, 'kahal se je rāur kasur hōi to, lage, bakāsal gelak. rāur tāj-bij mē i chaūā kekar lakhe diselā?' dewān kahālak, 'garīb parwar, i chaūā kar cehārā ṭikaṭ sāhebo kar cehārā se baṭh ke āhē. rāur cehārā āur i chaūā kar cehārā mē kono pharak ni bujhāelā.'

rājā darbār kar āuro admī-man ke puchālak, 'kahu baū, rāur-man kar tāj-bij mē i chaūā kaisan diselā?' keū keū kahālaē, 'dewān sāheb je kahālaē hamarohō ohe socat-hī.' dosar-man kahālaē, 'hamāre to socat rahī ki ṭikaṭe sāheb āpan bēs lugaīman ke badāl ke āehaē. magar rājā sāheb kar cehārā ṭikaṭ sāheb le pūre inkare mē bujhāelā.' rājā kahālak, 'hā baū, raūre-man ṭhike kahilā. se moē i chōṛā ke rāikh lebū. talek rājā ṭikaṭ sāheb ke bolālak āur ū chōṛā ke kahālak, ki, 'e chaūā, tor kām ṭikaṭ sāheb saī khelek hōi; āur tor dosar kām kono ni hōi.'

se ū chōṛā rōj ṭikaṭ sāheb saī khelek-khāek lāgalak. khelte-khelte saūb kheṭ mē ohē chaūā jitelā. rājā duiyo chaūā kar paṛhek lāgin gurū bālsāe delak; se paṛhko mē ohē chaūā bese pārelā. ohe cārē rājāo u chaūā ke pūre peyār karek lāgalak. rāni i dekh ke ni bes patiyālak āur u chaūā ke morāek kar bāhānā khojek lāgalak.

ek dīn duiyō chaūā phōḍā khelat rahaē, se ṭhin rāni jāe ke baṭh delak. khelte-khelte gēd-ṭhō rāni baṭ gelak to u 'bāp re bāp' cicfyāek

lāgālak āur mahai mē jāe ke khaṭwās-paṭwās leke ḡhalīg dēl; khāek bēṛā bhelak teu ni uṭhō. rājā ukar ṭhan jāe ke puchālak, ki 'kā bhelak? uṭhu rānī, khāek bēṛā holak.' rānī jābāb delak, 'kā karō? ab mōr jlu nihiṣ bācī.' rājā kahālak, 'kahu kā holak-gelak? ke raūrē ke kā kahālak? raūrē kahab se moḡ karbū. raūr ke kā kar phikir āhē?' rānī kahālak, 'je chaṭā ke raure ṭikaṭ saī khelek lāi rāikh-hī se moke mārlak. se uke phāṣī ni dele moḡ ni bācbū. māūr kar bāthā se mōr jlu jāt-he.'

The Rājā asked the boy, 'Whence dost thou come, child?' The boy said, 'O protector of the poor, my house is very far. I have come to your Highness's door with the intention of getting some job.' The Rājā asked, 'What job wilt thou have?' The boy answered, 'Any job that I can do, I will do, if it is given to me.'

The Rājā inquired of his chief minister, the other councillors and the men of his court, 'How does this child look?' The chief minister says, 'O Feeder of the Poor, how can I say? It may not be said.' The Rājā ordered, 'Do say; what is wrong in saying it?' The chief minister said, 'O Protector of the Poor, I may speak only, if the fault be forgiven.' The Rājā said, if in saying you commit a fault, it is already forgiven. In your opinion whom does the child resemble?' The chief minister said, 'O Feeder of the Poor, the features of this child are better than those of your Highness's heir. There seems to be no difference between your face and this child's face.'

The Rājā asked the other courtiers also, 'Say friends, in your opinion how does this child look?' Some said, 'We too think as the chief minister said.' Others said, 'We thought that your Highness's heir himself had come after having cast away his fine robes.' But your Highness's features are reflected more on this child's face than on the face of the heir.' The Rājā said, 'Yes, friends, you are right. Therefore I shall keep this child.' Then the Rājā called his heir, and said to the child, 'Child, thy job will be to play with my heir; thou shalt have nothing else to do.'

So, then, the boy daily took part in the games of the prince and also took his meals with him. As time went on that child began to win in all the games. The Rājā appointed a teacher to teach both the children; but even in reading that child succeeded better than the prince. For that reason the Rājā also showed more affection to him. The 'Rānī' did not at all like this, and she began to plan some pretext for doing away with the child.

One day both the children were playing ball with sticks. The 'Rānī' went to sit there. As the game progressed, the ball happened to come towards her. At this she began to shriek saying 'bāp re bāp' (lit. father, O father) and going to the palace she went to her bed and lay down. The time of her meal came but she would not get up. The Rājā came and asked her, 'What has happened? Do get up, it is time to eat.' The Rānī gave answer, 'What shall I do? Now, it is impossible to save my life.' The Rājā said, 'Do say what transpired? Whoever said anything to you? Whatever you will say that will I do. What have you to worry about?' The 'Rānī' said, 'The child whom you have adopted to play with the prince, beat me. So, unless you have him hanged, I cannot live. On account of the pain caused by his beating me, my life is passing away.'

rājā u chaṭā ke ni morāek khojat rahē. ū phāṣī dewalyā ke bolāe ke samjhāe delak, 'u chaṭwā ke phāṣī de dē; magar ghēcā mē ni saktek lakhe geṭh karbē; āgu ḡaṭe sarkusī kairke narṭi ni cipāek

lakhe naram đōrā mē țǎiğ debē.' đōm ohe lakhe kaīr ke chaūwā-
tho ke țǎiğ delak.

hirnī rōj chaūwā ke dekhek āwat rahē āur kono khāek-man
lāin det rahē. rājāo chaūwā ke kono nokaśn nā hok kaīh ke pahārā
baīśāe de rahē. andhār holak to pahārādār dekhat-he kā ki ek-țhō
hirnī āe rahal āhē, āur chaūwā ke pharkehē le cinh ke āur i kaīh ke
kāndek lāğlak, 'kekar kārñē bețā phāśi pālō ? kekar kārñē bețā suri
pālō ?' chōrā jabāb delak, 'mōsi kārñē āiyō phāśi pālō ; mōsi kārñē
āiyō suri pālō.' sipāhi ek jag dabaīr gelak ki dekhō to i-man kā
karbāē. sipāhi dekhālak ki hirnī ohe lakhe kāndte āwat-he. ukar
sīgh-man mē masāl bāral rahē āur sīgh mājhe ek țhō thārā mē rāg
birāg kar khāek banāl rahē. hirnī pahilē to thārā ke utārāe ke
bhuē mē rāikh delak ; talek chaūwā ke utrāe ke khiyālak-piyālak
āur āpan kōrā mē sutālak. bhinsār bērā chaūwā ke usnehē țǎiğ
rākhalak āur caīl delak.

bihāne pahārādār rājā țhin gelak āur jāisan-jāisan deīkh rahē
saūb ke kaīh sunālak. rājā kahālak, 'bēs, ekhan chaūwā ke utārāe
ke āur khiyāe-piyāe ke kahāō lukāe rākh. sājh ke uke ohē lakhe
țǎiğ debē, āur je harnī pheīr āwī to mō-ke turtē hāl debē. dekhō
to i chaūwā rānī ke kāhē mōsi kahelā ?'

pahārādār jāe ke chaūwā ke utrālak, bēs khiyālak-piyālak āur
ārām se rākhalak. pheīr sājh holak sekhan chaūwā ke jāisan kar
taisan țǎiğ delak. nisbad rāit mē hirnī pheīr āwek lāğalak. ukar
sīgh-man mē masāl barat rahē āur mājhe khāek cij-manak thārā
dharal rahē. u pahilehe lakhē kāndate āur kahate ālak ki, 'kekar
kārñē bețā phāśi pālō ? kekar kārñē bețā suri pālō ?' chōrāo kaīh
ghurālak, 'mōsi kārñē, āiyō phāśi pālō ; mōsi kārñē, āiyō suri
pālō.'

pahārādār sunte-hē kuīd gelak āur rājā ke hāl delak ki, 'calu,
calu, hirnī āwat-he. rājā kudle gelak āur dekhelā to țhike bāt ;
hirnī sīgh-man mē masāl bāir ke āur mūr mē thārā bōih ke āe rahal
āhē, āur isan kaīh ke kāndat-he ki, 'kekar kārñē bețā phāśi pālō ?
kekar kārñē bețā suri pālō ?' chaūwāo kāind ghurālak ki, 'mōsi
kārñē āiyō phāśi pālō ; mōsi kārñē āiyō suri pālō.

rājā i saūb deīkh-suīn ke bhakuwāe gelak āur socek lāğalak
ki, 'chaūwā kā lāi hirnī ke āiyō kahelā āur rānī ke mōsi kahelā ?
to i hirnī mōr baṛki rānī heke ki kā ? se i bāt ke jānal bigur
nī chorbū ; je hoi se hoi. māj-bețā mē ohe lakhē sawāl-jabāb
hote-hote hirnī pohīc gelak, thārā ke bhuē māṛalak, chaūwā ke
utrālak, khiyālak-piyālak āur korāe sutāeke đhalīg rahalak.

The Rājā did not wish to take the child's life. Therefore, he called
the executioner and instructed him, 'Hang that child, but let the knot be
made in such a way that it does not hold tightly the neck. Hang him up
with a soft cord with the noose in front so that it does not press on his
throat.' The 'caṇḍāla' following out the Rājā's instructions hung up the
boy.

The doe was coming every day to visit the child and to bring him
something to eat. The Rājā too set up a guard to watch that no harm
came to the child. When it became dark, what does the guard see ? He
sees a doe coming, which recognizing the child from far began to cry, saying,
'O son, who is the cause of thy being hanged ? Who is the cause of thy
being sent to the gallows ?' The boy gave answer, 'O mother, my step-
mother is the cause of my being hanged ; my step-mother is the cause of my
being sent to the gallows.' The sepoy seeing this lay down to watch what

the two would do. The sepoy saw that the doe came nearer and nearer crying in the same manner. Her horns were lit up with torches and between them, there was a tray full of all kinds of eatables. She first put down the tray on the ground. Then she took down the child, made him to eat and drink and then made him sleep on her lap. At cock-crow she hung up the child as before and took her way.

In the morning the guard went to the Rājā and told him all that he had seen. The Rājā said, 'Well, go, take down the child and give him to eat and drink and hide him somewhere. In the evening hang him up as before and if the doe should come, let me know it at once. I must find out why the child calls the Rānī his step-mother.'

The guard went and removed the child. Then he gave him good things to eat and drink and made him rest. When evening came, he again hung him up. In the silent night the doe again began to come. Her horns were lit up with torches and between them a tray of eatables was placed. As before she came crying and saying, 'O my son, who was the cause of thy being hanged? Who was the cause of thy being sent to the gallows?' The boy too said in answer, 'O mother, my step-mother was the cause of my being hanged; my step-mother was the cause of my being sent to the gallows.'

As soon as the guard heard this he ran to the Rājā and informed him saying, 'Come, come, the doe is approaching.' The Rājā ran and he sees that it is so: the doe is coming with torches lit on her horns and carrying a tray on her head; she is crying and saying these words, 'O son, who was the cause of thy being hanged? Who was the cause of thy being sent to the gallows?' The child too cried and said in reply, 'O mother, my step-mother is the cause of my being hanged; my step-mother is the cause of my being sent to the gallows.'

The Rājā on seeing and hearing these things was thunderstruck and began to think, 'Why does the child call the doe his mother and the Rānī his step-mother? Is this doe my elder Rānī or what? I would not allow this matter to rest until I know the secret, happen what may.' The dialogue between mother and son went on till the doe came near. Then she put down the tray on the ground, removed the child, gave him to eat and drink and making him to lie down on her lap, she also lay down.

sehe khan rājāo kuīd ke hirnī ke dharbe karālak. hirnī kahālak, 'phīṭ, phīṭ! manwā, toē ke hekis?' rājā jabāb delak, 'moē i rājī kar rājā hekō.' hirnī kahālak, 'mo-ke kāhe dharat-hi? se choṛu choṛu!' rājā kahālak, 'i chaṭwā kāise rāur beṭā heke āūr kā lāḡin rānī ke mōsī kahelā, seke nī jānal bigur moē rāure ke nī choṛbū; bhale sitā mōr parān jāi to jāi.' hirnī kahālak, 'bēs, ab choīṛ deu āūr sunu, moē batāe det-hō.'

rājā choṛbō karīak ki hirnī ek sundarī janānā baīn gelak, jeke deīkh ke rājā ṭhak raīh gelak. sundarī janānāṭho kahek lāḡālak, 'hirnī hekō āūr she ban mē rahonā. ek dīn buite-buite moē rāur gaṛh kar pichwār baṭ ālō, āūr rāure je ṭhan pesāb karīlā se ṭhan kar ghās ke carīlō to baṛā sawād lāḡālak. moē hewāe gelō āur roj dīn āwek lāḡlō. isan karte-karte bhārī pāw hoe gelō āūr i chaṭwā ke janam delō. moē ike poīs baṛhālō. ek dīn chaṭwā puchālak ki 'mā, mōr bāp kahā āhē?' moē batālō ki, 'beṭā, u i rājī kar rājā hekaē.' chaṭwā kahālak ki, 'moē mor bāp ke dekhēk jābū.' moē manā karīlō, ki, 'bēṭā tor bāp kar rānī āhā-ē; se maīt jā; toke jīte rahek nī debāē.' chaṭwā nī mānīak āūr rāure ke dekhēk lālāc se āūr 'nokarī karbū' kaīh ke call gelak.

magar mor kahal ni tarlak; mōsi-hār chaūwā ke phāsi deuwaē delak.'

rājā kahālak ki, 'moē i chaūwā kar bārē bhāri sandhē mē rahō ki i-kar cehārā kaīse mōr niyar āhō? cehārā dekh ke moē ike bacāek upāe karlō; je mē ki ni mōri se lakhe phāsi deuwalō, ātur rāit ke utrāe bhaguwaēk khojat rahō sekhan rāur āwek-banār pālō.' hirnī kahālak, 'dekhu ni kekar cehārā he-ke?' rājā kahālak, 'more cehārā he-ke; se ab moē raūre-man ke garh bhitar legal binu ni choṛbū.' hirnī kahālak, 'nihī bābā, moē ni jāō. chaūwā rāur thin nokri kaīn ke rahālak, se to ukar i hāl bhelak; moke lejab hōi hamre duiyo kar kā hāl hōi?'

hirnī-nārī kar surit dekh ke rājā ratiyaē jāe rahē. u kahālak, 'je hōi se hōi, moē rāur ke binā le le ni mānbū. rāur ke ke je dukh deī? raūre jāisan kahab tāisane moē rāni ke dār debū.' hirnī kahe, 'bēs, magar rāni kar rahat-bhair moē garh ni jābū, nā mor chaūwā ke hiyā rahek debū.' rājā kahālak, 'hōt bihāne moē rāni ke garh-bharā debū, rāur beṭā ke rajāi debū āur rāni kar beṭā ke kūwarkāri debū, magar raūre ke garh lejabe karbū.' hirnī i bāt ke manjur karlak āur kahālak, 'āchā i bāt mo-ke manjur āhe; lean hole moē garh mē jābū.'

rājā māē-beṭā ke nagar mē ek thin ḍerā delak, khāek-piyek kar bandobast kaīr rākhālak āur garh ḍhuklak. turte ek ṭho kūwā koṛek kar hukum bhelak. dōsar dīn bihān hot le pāni nikaīs gelak. rāni ke kuwā cumāek lāi hukum bhelak. jāisane u kuwā cumāek lāi habkuriyā bhelak ki ṭhahrāl admī-man uke kuwā mē ḍhekaī ke upar le māī cālī delaē.

rājā gājā-bājā kaīr ke hirnī ke garh bhitarālak āur ukar beṭā ke rājī kar tilak delak. rāni kar beṭā ke kūwar-kāri kar tilak milalak. hirnī sundarī rāni bhelak. talek rājā sukh-caīn se rājī karek lāglak.

At that very moment the Rājā also running up caught the doe. The doe said, 'Fie and fie, O man, who art thou?' The Rājā answered, 'I am the Rājā of this country.' The doe said, 'Why do you catch me? Let me go; let me go.' The Rājā said, 'How is this child your son and why does he call the Rāni his step-mother? Until I know this, I will not let you go, even though my life be taken away.' The doe said, 'Well, stop holding me and listen. I shall explain it.'

As soon as the Rājā released her, the doe became a beautiful woman; and the Rājā looking at her was captivated. The beautiful woman began to speak, 'I am a doe and dwell in this forest. One day while out grazing I happened to come on the back side of your palace. I ate the grass of the place where you urinate. I found it so sweet, that it became a habit with me to go and graze there every day. Thus I became pregnant and gave birth to this child. I nursed him up. One day he questioned me, 'Mother, where is my father?' I said, 'Son, he is the Rājā of this country.' The child said, 'I will go to see my father.' I forbade him saying, 'Thy father has queens; so don't go; they will not leave thee alive.' The child did not listen. He said, 'I shall take some service; and with the desire of seeing you he came. But my prediction came true. The child's step-mother had him hanged.'

The Rājā said, 'I was in great doubt about this child, i.e., how his features resembled mine. Seeing his features I planned to save him. I ordered him to be hung in such a way as he should not die. I was thinking of having him taken down and carried away, when I heard the news of your

coming.' The doe said, 'See, whose features has he?' The Rājā said, 'They are my own features; therefore now I cannot let matters stand, until I have taken you to the palace.' The doe said, 'Please, don't; for I won't go. The child merely came to seek service with you, and he was treated so badly; what more will not happen if you take both of us!'

Having seen the beauty of the doe-woman the Rājā had madly fallen in love. He declared, 'Happen what may, I will not rest until I have taken you. Whoever will dare to do you any harm? I will punish the Rānī in the manner you will choose.' The doe said, 'Good, but as long as the Rānī remains, I will not go to the palace nor allow my child to remain here.' The Rājā said, 'As soon as it is morning, I will have the Rānī buried alive. I will give the throne to your son, and I will declare the Rānī's son merely a prince.' The doe agreed to this, and said, 'All right, I agree to this, and on this condition I will go to the palace.'

The Rājā lodged the mother and the son somewhere in the city, arranged everything for their meal and entered the palace. At once he gave orders for a well to be dug. By next morning water gushed out in the well and the Rānī was invited to perform the ceremony of kissing the new well. As soon as she bent down to kiss the edge of the well, the men appointed beforehand to do the job, pushed her into the well and filled it up with earth.

The Rājā fetched the doe into the palace with great pomp and ceremony. He had her son anointed to succeed him to the throne, and the Rānī's son was declared a prince. The doe-beauty became queen. Then the king began to reign in peace and joy.

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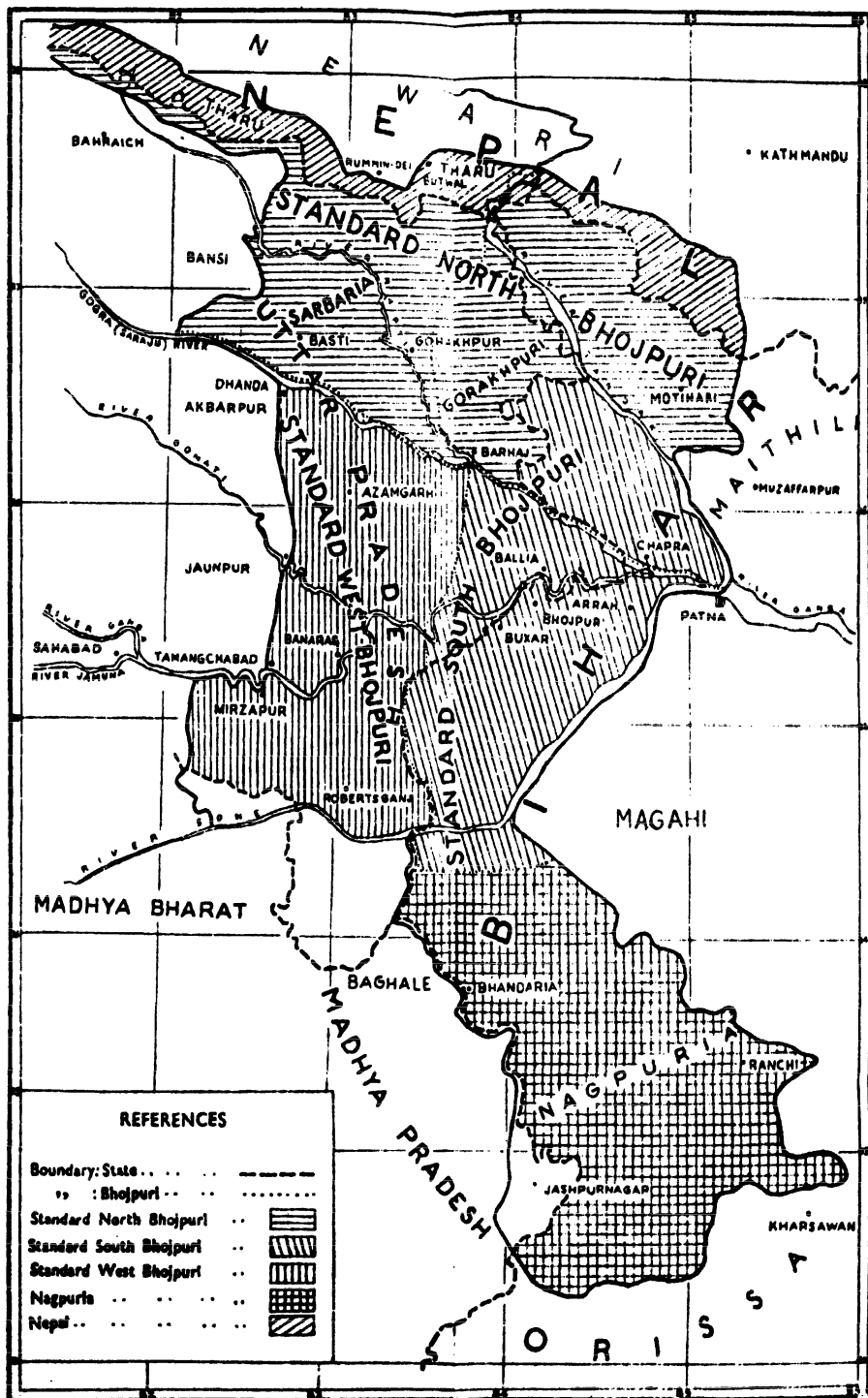
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MAP SHOWING BHOJPURI AND ITS SUB-DIALECTS



ESKATIC SOCIETY

